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THE LIFE AND DEATH  
OF  
KING JAMES THE FIRST  
OF SCOTLAND.



PRINTED FOR THE MAITLAND CLUB.  
M.DCCC.XXXVII.

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**THE MAITLAND CLUB**

**BY GEORGE MACINTOSH.**



# THE MAITLAND CLUB,

APRIL, M.DCCC.XXXVII

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## PREFACE.

THE present volume consists of two Treatises relative to the History of the Reign of James the First, King of Scotland.

The first of these pieces is generally ascribed to the celebrated William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen.\* We are informed by Hector Boethius, in his Dedicatory Epistle addressed to James the Fifth, that this prelate carefully investigated the history of his country; and it has hitherto been believed, upon the concurrent testimony of almost every writer of literary history, that the only copy of his "Scotorum Chronicon," which has descended to our times, is contained in the Fairfax Collection of Manuscripts, preserved in the Bodleian Library.

The Fairfax Manuscript, No. 8, is a small folio volume, written about the end of the fifteenth century, upon paper and vellum, in double columns, each consisting of forty lines. It

\* Said to have been born in Glasgow in 1437, to have been successively Bishop of Ross and Aberdeen, and Chancellor of Scotland. According to the obituary of Glasgow, he died 25th October 1514, aged 77 (Keith, p. 119), during the time that an attempt was made by James V. to place him in the Archiepiscopal See of St Andrews.—See Epp. Regum Scott. i. 199.

consists of nine gatherings of paper, each contained in a vellum cover, and each gathering consisting of twenty-four leaves. It contains a copy of the *Scotichronicon* of Fordun and Bower, together with some interpolations and additions which, as far as the editor is aware, are not found in any other manuscript. But it derives its chief interest from preserving two poems written in the Scottish language, about the middle of the fifteenth century; these poems are here printed, together with the whole of the last book, which contains the most valuable part of the whole volume, as preserving a narrative of events which occurred near the time when the compiler lived, and which may perhaps be of service in contributing to settle the authority and authorship of the *Scotichronicon* as it at present exists. The history of this manuscript may be gathered from the following memoranda:—

Mr James Drūmond 1650  
 Gifted theis book to Coronall  
 Fairfax the 17 of Decem̃  
 año 1650

Itt was sent me by the Lady Hathornden, widdow to y<sup>e</sup> famous poet, William Drūmond, by y<sup>e</sup> hands of her husband's brother, viz<sup>t</sup> Mr James Drumond (here supercribinge)

C. FAIRFAX.

By y<sup>e</sup> laft leafe of this booke itt seem's this booke (before the defolun of Abbays in Scotland) did belonge to the Monastery of Dumfermelin (B<sup>p</sup> Elphanston being y<sup>e</sup> author.)

Note that the earle of Dumfermelin tould mee in the yeare 1657 that he had a very faire aincient manuscript of the History of Scotland, for-



# PREFACE.

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merly belonginge [to] that monastery, but I did never see itt. I believe t'was transcribed out of this.

Ffx.

Joñes d̄ Cambruñ baro Scotus  
Ao D'ni . . . \*

Fairfax, upon first obtaining this MS., made an entry in it, declaring that he was ignorant who its author was, but afterwards he conjectured that it was written by Elphinston; and, having quoted the information concerning that eminent individual given by Bale,† he adds, “He was sent over with Margaret, the king’s daughter, married to the Dolphin of France, and continued with her till her death; quod vide post, libro xi. cap. 7, fol. 3.”

\* Erased.

† Guilhelmus Elphinston, illustris generis Scotus, homo doctissimus, et Aberdonensis episcopus, Jacobo tertio regnante, in magnum Scotici regni Cancellarium et secreti regis signaculi Curatorem, ob insignem ejus probitatem atque industriam provehebatur. Magno bonarum literarum emolumento, studiosorum virorum gymnasium primus ille posuit et instituit, regiumque collegium in eo construxit, ut omnium illic doctrinarum genera et artium disciplinæ auditoribus proponerentur. Et quum omnem fere regionem accurata indagine perlustrasset, quicquid monumentorum veterum ipse de rebus Scotticis invenire poterat, id totum scriptis pro condenda tandem historia demandavit, ut omnia insignium virorum facta in hominum memoriam ex tenebris revocaret. Ac præ aliis historicis Veremundum fani olim D. Andreæ archidiaconum, et Johannem de Campobello, ut authores ex ipsa vetustate magis probandos, in suo opere imitatur, eisque potiores suorum Chronicorum partem se debere fatetur Hector Boethius, in sua præfatione ad regem. Ex collectis igitur hincinde historiis Elphinstonus conflavit

Scotorum chronicon . . . . .	Lib. i.
Conciliorum statuta . . . . .	Lib. i.

Atque alia multa contexuit. Postremo claruit anno a communis salutis origine 1480, sub prædicto rege Jacobo tertio. Hujus tempore claruit Henricus quidam, a nativitate luminibus captus, qui carmine vulgari Guilhelmi Waleys vitam conscripsit, de quo Major lib. 4, cap. 15.—*Bale*, Script. Brit. cent. xiv, n. 57.

A single passage in the manuscript proves the inaccuracy of these conjectures. The writer states that he accompanied Margaret, daughter of James the First, in her voyage to France, previous to her marriage with the Dauphin Louis, son of Charles VII. King of France, which took place 24th June 1436, consequently a year before Elphinston was born. It is more easy, however, to prove by whom it is not written than to establish its authorship; but even to this some approximation may be made. We may observe, in the first place, that the greater part of the volume consists of a transcript, in many places abridged, of the Chronicle written by Fordun and Bower, as the following extract from Book vi, chapter 14, shows:—

Haraldus, ut præmittitur, regni diadema suo capite proprio impositum, anno Domini m.lxvij, quem, suis exigentibus demeritis, Willelmus Balfard simul vita privavit et regno.

Item, notandum est quod ista omnia superscripta gesta per nobilem et discretum clericum, dominum Johannem de Fordune, collecta sunt et compilata, cætera sequentia vero per venerabilem patrem dominum abbatem de Insula Sancti Columbæ, qui in tempore suo dictus est dominus Walterus Bouware, sicut reperimus in magnis cronicis notatum; quorum anima in pace requiescant, et hæc signantur usque ad tempus regis Jacobi secundi hujus nominis. De residuo vero quis ea compilavit sciatur in fine hujus præsentis libri,\* quia de futuris contingentibus non est determinata veritas. Non mireris, O lector, si diversorum auctorum et cronigrafforum in præsentis opusculo de eadem nobilissima regum prosapia opiniones et scripturæ inferendo duobus vel tribus vicibus recitentur. Nam, secun-

\* Notwithstanding the promise here given that the name of the continuator should be given at the end of the sixth book, no such information is there contained; nor is there, throughout the whole volume, any guide to the direct solution of this question.

dum jura, fortior est sententia quæ plurimorum autoribus\* approbatur; sicut in Evangelio Jesu Christi una et eadem historia per iiij Evangelistas approbatur.

The compiler has also inserted at Book viii, ch. 16, a passage which could not have been composed by himself (since it must have been written before 1399), but must have been taken verbatim from some earlier manuscript.

Edwardus tertius genuit Edwardum principem Walliæ, primortuum† ante patrem. Edwardus vero princeps genuit alium Ricardum, nunc regnantem, tempore compilationis istarum cronicarum.

In Book viii, ch. 17, he gives the date of the composition of the work, or perhaps of its transcription, in the following words:

Rex vero primus Scotiæ, qui hanc confederationem cum rege Karolo [            ], vocatus est rex Achayus, anno gratiæ sexcentesimo lxxvij, et usque in hunc diem hujus opusculi scripturæ, videlicet, anno Domini m.cccc.lxxxix inviolata et concussa‡ manet conservata.

The attention of the reader must now be directed to a manuscript intimately connected with our subject, which is preserved in the Library of Ste. Geneviève at Paris; for the following description of which, as well as for a transcript of the prologue, I am indebted to M. Francisque Michel, a gentleman well known to the lovers of early Anglo-Norman literature.

\* Sic MS.

† Sic MS.

‡ Sic MS.

MS. DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE STE GENEVIEVE, A PARIS, IN FOL. O 2.

MS. SUR PAPIER, DU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE.

CHRONIQUE d'Escoffe, traduite du Latin, et dédiée à Jehan duc d'Albanie, comte de Boulogne et d'Auvergne, de la Marche, et Régent d'Ecosse etc., par Gremond Domat, commencée le 18 Juin 1519.

Cette chronique est une traduction un peu trop littérale d'une chronique Latine dont il y a une copie dans la bibliothèque Bodléienne, et qui est attribuée à William Elphinston, évêque d'Aberdeen ; mais dont l'auteur véritable paroît avoir été un moine de l'abbaye de Dunfermlin. En effet on lit dans le prologue de notre MS. fol. 6, recto, ligne 12, à propos du Latin que l'auteur déclare fuivre, qu'il dit ainfi : " par le mandement de révérend père en Dieu, par la permission divine l'abbé de Dunfermling à présent gouvernant et regent le dit monastere, ay deslibéré d'ajoufter plusieurs accidentz venuz dernièrement en nostre temps en le meilleur forme et manière que fere pourray, et selonc verité m'enquerray, et toute prolixité larray à mon pouvoir. Suis aussi deslibéré d'inscrire, dit nostre antien acteur, plusieurs faictz merveilleux que moy acteur ay sceu dehors le royaume, que j'ay veu et oy," etc.

L'original Latin contient onze livres, c'est à dire les cinq livres de la chronique de J. Fordun depuis le commencement, jusqu'à la mort du roi David I. en 1153, et une continuation en six livres jusqu'à la mort de Jacques I. en 1437.

Dans la traduction contenue dans ce MS. les cinq livres de Fordun sont complets, aussi bien que le sixième et le septième, qui sont du continuateur ; mais le huitième finit au chapitre 42, laissant des feuilles en blanc pour les 20 derniers chapitres ; le neuvième livre finit au chapitre 36<sup>e</sup>, les dix derniers sont en blanc ; le dixième livre n'a dans cette copie que les douze premiers chapitres ; et le reste est en blanc aussi bien que tout l'onzième livre exceptés les chapitres ix. et x.

Il y a à la fin du volume un index des chapitres de chaque livre.

Dans ce même volume il y a sur huit feuillets de vélin un abrégé

chronologique de l'histoire d'Ecosse, jusqu'à Jacques I. d'Ecosse, avec des portraits des rois en une espèce de miniature.

Le premier feuillet est occupé à son recto par des armoiries, l'écu est divisé en quatre compartiments dont les deux supérieurs ont chacun un lion rampant à la queue fourchée ; le compartiment inférieur de gauche porte trois jambes recouvertes de mailles et éperonnées, quant à celui de droite il porte deux barres en croix ; au dessus de la couronne de duc, qui surmonte le tout l'on voit un oiseau entouré de rayons, couronné d'un auréole et les ailes étendues ; et dans un cartel inférieur on lit : SVB. VMBRA. TVAR. Autour de l'écu il y a une corde soutenant de distance en distance des objets semblables à nos gourdes de pèlerins et de soldats.

A l'écu pend, par une chaîne à anneaux carres, un médaillon représentant Saint Michel, l'épée levée sur le diable qu'il tient sous ses pieds, au-dessous on lit dans un cartel : VERITAS : DE : TERRA : ORTA : EST :

Au verso de ce feuillet on lit ces vers :

PRINCES PUISSANS, CESTE PRESENT CRONIQUE  
Triumphante, de renom dignifique ;  
Démontre, par trefclere esvidance,  
Comment le royaume trefmagnifique  
Descende, a Bruiet souverain et antique,  
Car a este ramply de grant vaillance,  
Et est encores par quoy, par excellence,  
Jay escript cy maincte ouvre solempnique,  
Pour démonstrer com la foy Catholicque  
A maintenu, et justice en puissance,  
Paix et amour, equite, temperence,  
Et contre Turcs a souvent pris la picque ;  
Nobles et laiz, je vous pry, fans replicque,  
Voyes ce faict, tout munny de prudence.

DOMAT,\* L'ACTEUR TRANSLATEUR.

\* Ceci paroît être la signature autographe de *l'acteur-traducteur* ; et ce manuscrit, il me semble, est l'original.—FRANÇOIS MICHEL.

A treshault, trefillustre, magnanyme, trefcreant, et doubte prince, mon feigneur Iehan duc Dalbanie, comte de Boloigne et Dauvergne, De La Marche, et pluseurs aultres grandiffimes feignories, tant de ca que de la mer, grant et serenissime regent pacifique Descoce, Bremond Domat, vostre treshumble serviteur, rend salut et treshumble reverence.

A lhonneur, gloire et louange de Dieu, Createur tout puissant, seul Omnipotent, et a lexaltacion de vous, prince tres illustre, jay entrepris, moyennent layde dicelluy et de sa glorieuse mere sacree Vierge, de descripre et parfinir ceste present Cronique, feloin la capacite rudde, peu subtil engin, et tant simple scavoir, en quoy supplie tous nobles liseurs supporter mon ignorance, et ne prandre garde au langaige mal aorne, ce que jay entrepris procede de bonne volente et ardent desir, et tend mon entreprise aux fins, cest de elucider vostre tant illustre et noble sang, et pour fusciter tous nobles couraiges des preux et vaillans chevaliers et aultres, qui par bon et loyal tiltre desirent batailler en ceste mortelle vie pour soubstenir les termes de saincte foy, ainfi que plusieurs de voz predecesseurs ont prudemment faiët, tousjours en la confidence de nom de Dieu ; car le Createur est celluy seul a qui tout bon prince et aultre doit prandre sa force pour parvenir a fin eureuse. Tousjours est requis davoir lamour et craincte dicelluy devant les yeulx, comme ont heu vous bons et trefrenommes predecesseurs, lesquieulx esmeuz de la grace du Sainët Esperit ont mys leur affection a soubstenir la saincte foy, a decorer les glize, tenir en repos le bien publique, norrir paix et francise, maintenir justice, comme est trouve en ceste presente Cronique et en pluseurs aultres. La quelle pour fatiffaire a vostre clement commandement obtemperant, comme celluy quest oblige, a jamais jay bien volue trainflater de Latin en Francoys, et commence le xvij<sup>e</sup> Jung, lan mil, cinq centz, et dixneuf. Je prie a Dieu, le Tout Puissant, que en ce faissant me soit securable. AMEN :

Les honnourables gestes des antecessours tres louables et magnificques nous reduisent a memoire non pas seulement les faiëtz presentz mais aussi les preteritz et passez, qui sont tres plaissantz a reciter ; iceulx bien confiderez, noz profitons en meurs, comme par la lanterne dont soit

lumyere de verite, car, quant nous recordons leurs merites et leurs nobles vestiges, ilz nous enclinent et donnent occasion de bien faire; et pource que en toutes actes et operations le fuindement de verite est Dieu, sans lequel riens nest valide ne sainct, premierement et advant toute ouvre, en charite, en juste affection, en diligence, en toute nostre force, nous deuons icelly invocquer pour acquerir verite, a la quelle, sans grace, nul entendement humain ne peult parvenir. Querons la doncques au Pere de lumyere, ou quel tout don parfaict de lassus est descendunt, car luy seul donne sapience, et sa bouche science et prudence est. Demandons, comme le faige Salamon, Mon Dieu, donne moy sapience, que soit avec moy et avec moy labore, et science, qui tousieurs te soit acceptable. Salamon demanda, et sents et esperit luy fut donne; Dieu invoca, et en luy vint lesperit de sapience. A la quelle grace impetrer nous digne conduyre, qui sans fin regne et vit. AMEN.

Et davantaige, affin que nous donnonsa Dieu tousieurs gloire et louange, car ampres la mort on doibt louer et expressement les victorieux et invincibles hommes noble et illustre nation Escossoise deffunctz et decedez; a la magnificence et honneur des venerables vivantz louablement possedantz et occupantz le noble royaulme Descoco resplendissant par toute les parties du monde, crainct et doubte par toutes nations, et non obstant que fortune souvent layt assally en persecutions, en pestes, endiverfes batailles par cruelz tyrans envahy par insultes de maintz prodicteurs et tritres, qui ont engendre perverses iniquites,—Ce non obstant, la maison royalle Descoco a troys centz et trent ans et plus devant lincarnation de nostre Seigneur jusques a aujourduy sans muer nation ou subjection, de royalle majeste liberallement a occupe. Quelle louange pourray je donner a nation si trefantique et royalle? je ne scay bonnement, fors que je propose en randre graces a Dieu omnipotent.

LE PROLOGUE.

Comme a lordonnance des cronicques et gestes louables verite elucidee favorable soit, et par expres a nouvelle chose, et les aureilles de plusieurs auditeurs, princes, et prelatz, et aultres hommes fameux, en plu-

seurs ardues conversations mondaines negoices soyent occupez ; ce que ne peuvent sans grant poynne tolerer et engendre icelle poynne, esnuy, au cueur de ceulx qui ont desir de oyr et comprendre, et pour ce que prolixite souvent esnuye, l'intention de l'auteur est de prendre des grandes et espacieuses cronicques la matiere la plus utile et fructueuse et briefment faisant ; comme la mouche a miel, qui de la fleur est extrayant la bonne substance, tout ainsi l'auteur se deslibere, moyennent layde du Saint Esperit, de reger le plus et le meilleur briefvement sans grant proces, qui engendre esnuy et confusion. Doncques par le bon commandement de hault et puissant seigneur, le tresillustre et magnanime prince, monseigneur Jehan duc Dalbanie, a present Regent pacifique et bien meriet Descoco obtemperant, ay volu suyuee mon noble auteur compilateur du Latin, qui dit ainsi, " PAR LE MANDEMENT DE reverend pere en Dieu, par la permission Divine, l'able de Dunfermling\* a present gouvernant et regent ledict monastere, ay deslibere dajouster pleuseurs accentz venuz dernièrement en nostre temps, en la meilleur forme et maniere que fere pourray, et feloin verite menqueray, et toute prolixite larray, a mon pouvoir. Suis aussi deslibere dinferer," dit nostre antien auteur, " plusieurs faitz merueilleux que moy auteur ay scau dehors le royaume que jay veu et oy. Item, dernièrement dune fille digne de memoire, qui fut cause de la recuperation du royaume de France des mains de Henry tyran, roy Dangleterre ; la quelle jay veu et cogneu, et avec elle ay este en ses questes et recuperations, et a sa vie suis toujours este present et a sa fin."

It appears from this prologue that Domat had before him a copy of the *Scotichronicon*, to which, at the request of a certain abbot of Dunfermling, a monk of that establishment had appended the relation of certain affairs which had happened abroad in his time, and partly under his own observation. He alludes

\* *Dunfermling*, MS.



more particularly to the exploits of certain "fille digne de memoire," who was the cause of the recovery of France from the hands of Henry King of England.

It will be observed, and observed with regret, that the latter part of this French translation has not been completed, and, consequently, that we are deprived of the curious information with which the monk of Dunfermling would probably have furnished us, had his work come down to us through the medium of Domat's version. With all due deference to the opinion of those who contend that this work is taken from Elphinston's Chronicle, the Editor cannot but remark that the prologue is a sufficient proof to the contrary, and that the renowned Joanne of Arc is clearly pointed out in its conclusion.

The original Latin from which Domat translated is, as far as the Editor is aware, unknown, and its recovery would probably add, in no inconsiderable degree, to the historical materials as well of France as of Scotland.

From what has been advanced the Editor is inclined to believe, first, that the Fairfax MS. does not contain a copy of Elphinston's History of Scotland, and that the MS. in the Library of Ste. Geneviève is not a translation from that history: and, secondly, that the Fairfax MS. is a copy of the Scotichronicon, interpolated by an individual who accompanied Margaret into France

in 1436, and resided there with her until her death in 1444, and that the Parisian MS. is an imperfect translation of a lost copy of the *Scotichronicon*, to which additions, probably valuable ones, had been made by a monk of Dunfermling, at the request of his abbot.

The second article in the present volume, namely, an account of the murder of James the First, is printed from a volume formerly belonging to Thoresby,\* and now deposited amongst the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum (No. 5467). It appears to be a contemporaneous translation by John Shirley, from an account written in Latin, apparently at the time of the event which it records. Although it had previously been printed by Pinkerton, in the Appendix to the first volume of his *History of Scotland*, its reappearance in a more accurate form was considered advisable, for the purpose of thus bringing together the most authentic materials for a *History of the Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland*.

JOSEPH STEVENSON.

LONDON, March 1837.

\* See *Catalogus MSS. Angliae*, fol. Oxon. 1697, vol. ii, p. 230.

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SINCE the preceding Preface was completed for press, the following very interesting Letter has been pointed out, it having fortunately been preserved in the MS. Collection of Correspondence of the indefatigable Rev. Robert Wodrow, which now belongs to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh.

As it exhibits the great value which Mr Wodrow attached to the MS. History, from which the present volume has been selected, it has been deemed of sufficient interest and importance to demand a place in it. It only seems to be farther necessary to remark, that Wodrow does not appear to have succeeded in procuring the transcript of the History which he so anxiously longed for.

LETTER, *the Rev. R. Wodrow to Mr David Randy, Postmaster,  
Canongate, Edinburgh.\**

DEAR SIR,

Receive the Manuscripts you desired, conteaning the originall papers of the Treaty 1640 and 1641. Tho' I am not very

\* From the *Wodrow Correspondence*, MS. Letters, vol. iv. 1726-32. 12mo series, p. 32, Advocates' Library. This interesting Letter is also preserved in a very rare volume, entitled *Analecta Scotia*, Edinburgh, 1834. 8vo, p. 346.

fond to have my Manuscripts lent out, yet, to oblige you, and to gratify so curious and valuable a gentleman, as you represent Commissioner Fairfax to be, I have sent it, with my most humble duty. I doubt not you will take all care of it, and return it to us as soon as may be.

Generall Fairfax, when in Scotland, got the only copy, I hear of in the worlde, of our Bishop Elphinstoun's MS. History of Scotland, from Drummond of Hauthornden; and, when he returned to England, he lodged it in the Bodleyan Library. Were it possible to get a transcript of it (and the Commissioner being, as I think you hinted, a relative of the Generall's, he seems to have a claim to ask it), I would be far from grudging the charges, tho' I believe they might run pretty deep for my purse; yet I have laid out ten times more upon my Manuscripts, and would recon this a considerable accession to my Collection. We ought certainly to have a copy of this Historian of ours in his own native country. You'll take your own method to see if Mr Fairfax may use his interest, in England, to bring this about.

I am, &c.

(Signed) R. WODROW.

Nov. 2, 1726.

**CHRONICON JACOBI PRIMI,  
REGIS SCOTTORUM.**



# CHRONICON JACOBI PRIMI REGIS SCOTTORUM.

## *Capitulum Primum.*

POSTQUAM inclyti principes, videlicet, rex Robertus secundus, et tertius cum ejus primogenito, David, duce Rosay, viam universæ carnis ingressi sunt, regno in regimine ducis Albanie, fratris dicti Roberti regis tertii relicto, et missis in Franciam, ad instantiam regis ejusdem, prænominatis principibus, videlicet, Johanne comite Bouchanie, Archibaldo comite de Douglass, cum suo filio Jacobo, ac diversis aliis dominis et domicellis in bello relictis, defunctus est dictus Robertus Albanie dux, et sepultus in Dumfermlyne, et, ut asseritur, pro tempore suo fertilitas magna in regno vigeat. Quo etiam defuncto, prælati et procures regni, consilio habito, regem suum Jacobum, primum hujus nominis, datis obsidibus pro centum millibus marcharum, et matrimonio cum nepte regis Angliæ, filia comitis de Somerseth, nunc ducis ejusdem, contracto, de manibus inimicorum liberaverunt et in regno reducerunt, et, congregatis omnibus universaliter regni majoribus, apud Sconam, more prædecessorum suorum cum gloria et honore coronaverunt. Pro securitate hujus liberationis et

De rege Jacobo  
primo hujus no-  
minis.

De coronatione  
Jacobi primi.

summæ promissæ multi magnates regni in obsides in Angliam transmissi sunt, anno Domini m.cccc.xxiiij. Ipsa etiam regina Johanna fuit filia Johannis de Beaufort, marquisi de Dorset et comitis de Somerseth, qui fuit filius domini Johannis de Gant, filii Henrici ducis Lancastriæ et regis Angliæ, hujus nominis quarti. Mater vero reginæ erat filia comitis de Kent, fratris regis Ricardi secundi, in Scotiam expulsi, et nomen ejus fuit Thomas de Holandia. Pro [ ] vero et dotaliis dictæ reginæ remissum est regi dimidium dictæ summæ. Coronati vero erant ambo per episcopum Sancti Andreæ, xxj. die Maii, anno Domini m.cccc.xxiiij. Murdachus vero Stewart, ex speciali privilegio sibi ut duci Albanie et comiti de Fyffe concessio, eundem regem in fede regali collocavit, multis tyronibus cingulo militari per regem præcinctis et decoratis, ut in sequentibus declarabitur, cum nominibus obsidum pro expensis regis in Anglia datorum. Non enim volebant Anglici, ex eorum versutia, dicere summam centum millium marcarum, quam pro ejus deliberatione petierunt, esse pro ejus redemptione datam, immo potius pro ejus expensis factis in eorum custodia pro conservatione et securitate personæ ejusdem; pro qua summa dati erant dicti obsides, quorum quidam usque ad mortem eorum ibidem permanferunt, alii seipfos liberaverunt, alii evaserunt, alii seipfos de eorum bonis redimerunt, sic quod per bene xxxv annos quidam eorum ibidem permanferunt, quorum expensæ et damna regnum Scotiæ de centum millibus librarum pejoraverunt.

Consilium Seno-  
nense.

In his temporibus celebratum est consilium Senense in civitate Papiæ, post cujus celebrationem multæ hæreses initium habuerunt et schismata, quæ longo tempore postea duraverunt, quorum schismatum in fine libri, si placet, memoriam faciemus, usque ad schisma ducis Sabaudie, per consilium Basiliense, ut asseritur, inceptum.

Nomina vero militum in coronatione regis præcinctorum sunt hæc. In



primis, Archibaldus, tertius comes de Douglass hujus nominis; Willelmus comes de Angus; Georgius comes Marchiarum; dominus de Halis; Thomas de Haye, dominus de Zester; Walterus [ ] et Walterus de Halyburtoune; Patricius de Ogylby; David Stewart de Rossyth; dominus de Cetoune; dominus de Gordone; dominus de Kynnowle; comes de Craufurde; Johannes Reedstewart; David de Murray; Johannes Stewart de Cardeneye; Willelmus de la Haye, constabularius Scotiæ; Johannes Skirmegioure; Alexander Iruwyne; Harbartus Maxwell; Harbartus Heryß de Torricleis; Andreas Gray de Fowlis; dominus de Kylmauris, et dominus Dalloufy; dominus de Creichtoune.

SEQUITUR DE ARRESTATIONE DOMINORUM, ET CRIMINE LÆSÆ MAJESTATIS.

*Capitulum Secundum.*

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxiiij. arestatus est Walterus Stewart, filius primogenitus Murthacy Stewart, ducis Albanie, in castro de Edinburghe, de regis mandato, et Malcolmus de Flemyng dominus de Commernalde, et Thomas Boyd de Kilmarnoch. Walterus vero apud castrum de Basse in custodia deputatus est, et Malcolmus apud Dalkeith; sed dictus Thomas Boyd libertati datus est quietus; et incontinente post captionem eorum rex coronatus est, ut præmittitur, xxj die mensis Maii, et deinde apud Perth, sexto die post ejus coronationem, tenuit parliamentum suum, ubi pro utilitate regni et reipublicæ multa proposuit actura. Postea vero, propiciens quod [de] corona regni multum debilitata redditibus modicum ei de regalibus possessionibus præter wardas, relevia, et custumas, ad statum suum tenendum sibi remansit, cum consensu trini status regni certa taxatio

De arrestatione  
dominorum per  
regem Jacobum  
primum.

ad deliberanda hostagia sua, videlicet xij. denarios de libra, sibi concessa est de omnibus firmis, annuis redditibus, granis et bestiiis, et aliis proventibus, tam spiritualium quam temporalium dominorum, pro duobus annis frequentibus. Et quia ista summa totalis nimis gravabat regnum, non levabatur in toto, sed primo anno xiiij. millia marcarum; et postea usque ad contractum matrimonium inter Margaretam filiam ejus et Dalphinum Franciæ, quod fuit anno Domini m.cccc.xxxiiij., taxæ non levabantur in regno. Et postquam soluta fuit una taxatio pro ambaffanda hujus contractus, rex, murmurantibus communitatibus de eorum paupertate, omnia recepta restituere fecit, et amplius nullam taxam levavit.

Eodem vero anno [m.cccc.]xxxiiij., arestatus est Duncanus comes de Lenax in castro de Edinburghe, et apud Dunbar custodiæ deputatus est.

Eodem etiam tempore combusta est villa de Lythguowe, cum ecclesia ejusdem.

De captione  
Mordaci ducis  
Albanie.

Eodem anno, xiiij. die Martii, tenuit rex secundum ejus parliamentum apud Perth, ubi arestare fecit Murthacum Stewart, ducem Albanie, et filium ejus Alexandrum, quem ipse militem creavit, cum xxvj. aliis. Arestavit etiam dominum de Montgomery et Alanum de Ottirburne, secretarium ducis Albanie, et incontinente fecit capere castella de Faulklande et Doune in Menteith. Postea translatus est dux in Carlaverok et ducissa ejus apud Temptaloune, et de filiis dicti ducis solus Jacobus evasit, qui Dumbertan combussit, et dominum Johannem de Reedstewart occidit, dominum videlicet de Burle. Postea fugatus in Hyberniam fugiens, quinque de suis complicibus apud Sterlyng accusati, condemnati, tracti, suspensi post capitis truncationem. Episcopus vero Argadie five Lismorensis similiter sine reditu, quia se novit fautorem culpabilem contra majestatem regiam, in Hyberniam transvolavit; ordinis erat Prædicatorum.

SEQUITUR DE EXECUTIONE JUSTITIÆ SUPER DUCEM ALBANIÆ CUM FILIIS  
SUIS, CUM INCIDENTIIS.

*Capitulum Tertium.*

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxiiij., xxviiij. die mensis Maii, rege continuando apud Sterlyng parliamentum suum, per affisam comitum et baronum de majoribus regni super ducem Albanie Mordachum, cum duobus suis filiis, Walterum Stewart et Alexandrum fratrem ejus, et etiam Donaldum comitem de Lenax, inveteratum virum magnæ ætatis, qui omnes quatuor super monticulum coram castro decollati sunt et in ecclesia Fratrum Prædicatorum inhumati. Nomina vero dominorum dictæ affisæ fuerunt hæc; videlicet, dominus Walterus Steuwart, comes Atholiæ, patruus regis; comes de Douglase Archibaldus tertius; comes de Mar, Alexander Steuwart; Willelmus de Douglase, comes de Angus; Alexander comes de Rossie et dominus Infularum; Georgius de Dunbar, comes Marchiarum; Willelmus Synclare, comes Orgadiæ; Jacobus Douglase de Balvany et Abbercorniæ comes, postea de Avindale; Gilbertus de Haye, constabularius Scotiæ; dominus Johannes de Monte Gomorre; dominus de Lorne; dominus de Somerville; dominus de Torricleis; dominus de Dalkeith; dominus de Kilmawris; dominus de Kalendare; Thomas de Haye de Jester; Patricius de Ogylby, vicecomes de Angus; Johannes Forstare de Curstorfyne; Valterus de Ogylby de Luncrethin. Hi vero domini comites et magni barones pares erant regni, majores etiam domini, qui super eorum affisam jurati, judicaverunt eos reos mortis et crimine læsæ majestatis erretitos, quia par per parem judicari debet. Propter quod pœna capitali puniebantur, confiscatis corporibus et bonis regi.

De occisione ducis Mordaci.

Nomina assisorum.

De ambassatori-  
bus Franciæ mis-  
sis regi Scotiæ  
pro matrimonio.

Sequitur de ambaffiatoribus regis Franciæ missis in Scotiam pro matrimonio contrahendo inter Margaretam primogenitam regis Scotiæ, et Ludovicum Delphinum Franciæ, qui ambo in minoritate ætatis erant, adhuc infra annos nobiles.

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxv., post bellum de Vernuell, missi sunt a rege Francorum in ambaffada regi Scotiæ archiepiscopus Remensis, dux et par principalis ecclesiasticorum parium Franciæ, cum domino Johanne Stewart de Dernle, constabulario armati exercitus Scotorum in Franciam, propter matrimonium contrahendum inter filiam primogenitam Margaretam dicti regis Scotiæ. Qui cum magna reverentia, gloria et honore recepti, expeditionem negotiorum fuorum adepti sunt, sed quia infra annos erant nobiles, confectis cartis et promissionibus ex utraque parte de nuptiis perimplendis in ætate perfecta tempore advenienti inter prædictam Margaretam et Ludovicum Franciæ, sigillis principum roboratis, nam episcopus supradictus cancellarius Franciæ extitit, habens secum magnum Franciæ sigillum, et sic negotio ut tunc profecto, reversi sunt ambaffiatores in regionem Franciæ, relationem condignam facientes.

De ambassatori-  
bus Scotiæ mis-  
sis in Franciam.

Rex vero Scotiæ, placatus summe in his quæ dicta sunt sibi, et in præmissis actis, remisit honorabiles nuncios ac magnæ prudentiæ et discretionis viros, videlicet, magistrum Henricum Lychtoun, episcopum Abberdonensem; magistrum Edwardum de Lawder, archidiaconum Laudoniæ; ac dominum Patricium de Ogylby de Uchterhouffe, justiciarium Scotiæ; cum certis commissionibus et instructionibus dictæ materiæ concernentibus, cum gratulationibus condignis prædicto regi Francorum pro tanto honore impendendo. Quibus hinc inde sic peractis, post quinque

vel sex annos sequentes missis iterum ambaffatoribus utriusque regni, prædictum matrimonium perimpletum est cum maxima solemnitate. Et primo missi sunt a rege Franciæ magister hospitii sui principalis, dominus Arnoldus Girart, gubernator Rupellæ, cum eo magister Aymerus Martin, doctor licentiatus, cum commissione ad contrahendum matrimonium per Verba de Futuro cum prædicta Margareta, afficiendo eam ex parte ejus mariti Delphini Franciæ.

SEQUITUR DE PERFECTIONE MATRIMONII INTER DICTUM DELPHINUM ET  
MARGARETAM SUPRADICTAM.

*Capitulum Quartum.*

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxxvj., misit rex Scotiæ filiam suam primogenitam Margaretam in Franciam, cum nobili cohorte dominorum, militum, ac providorum virorum dignissime provisorum, in tali apparatu et decencia et tali honorifice in ordine positorum quod confirmile nunquam in tempore viventium, vel tam nobilis exercitus tam glorifice ordinatus, tam prudenter gubernatus, de regno Scotiæ missus fuit. In illo vero exercitu ad nuptias illas contrahendas inter partes prædictas præfuit episcopus Brechinensis, dominus Johannes de Crannok, et dominus comes Orgadiæ, dominus de Singlare et admirallus Scotiæ, cum aliis quinquaginta militibus, et armigeris, et eorum sequelis officiariis, ac etiam cum classe valida armatorum ad eam conducendam secure, propter metum Anglorum, usque versus regem Franciæ. In dicta vero classe erant tria millia armatorum bene ordinatorum et defenfabilium. Erat enim filia decem annorum in nobilissimo apparatu, vestita pretiosissime et splendide, ac corpore

Quomodo rex  
Scotiæ misit fili-  
am suam in Fran-  
ciam.

decorata, facie venusta valde. Matrimonium siquidem in facie ecclesiæ factum est in castello palatio regio de Touris en Turyne per supradictum archiepiscopum Remensem, præsentibus regibus Franciæ, cum rege Cecilæ, matre dictæ reginæ Franciæ, ac matre dicti regis Cecilæ, cum ambaffatoribus Scotiæ, multa nobilitate Franciæ, tam dominarum quam dominorum Franciæ. Quinimmo, licet desponsati erant et matrimonialiter copulati, non tamen in thoro nuptiali intraverunt usque post duos annos vel cum dimidio, quibus transactis, completi sunt in eis anni nobiles, et in lecto positi apud villam de Gien sur Laare, et sic matrimonium perfecte consummatum est in nomine Jesu Christi.

De parlamento  
tento apud In-  
verness.

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxviii., rex apud Inverness tenuit suum parliamentum, ubi arestatus fuit dominus Infularum ac etiam comitissa de Rosse mater ejus, filia et heres domini Walteri de Lesly, ultimi comitis de Rosse, arestari etiam fecit quasi omnes nobiles de partibus borealibus; quod, ut afferitur, parliamentum domavit eos valde et timere regem fecit. Arestatus est ibidem Angus Duff, cum suis quatuor filiis et multis aliis malefactoribus ad gentaculum convocatis ac arestatis, accusatis, judicatis, et condemnatis, quibusdam decollatis, quibusdam suspensis, aliis proscriptis, exulatis, et sic patriam per multa tempora pacificatur et in quiete remanfit. Dominum vero Infularum, quia juvenis erat et levi consilio gubernatus, noluit eum capitali pœna punire, sed castigavit quosdam de suis consulibus, et eum secum in domo sua remanere voluit, eo quod de sanguine regali originem traxit, ad finem quod in moribus ac virtutibus, ex consuetudine inter nobiles, conditiones suas emendaret, ut, virtutum moribus emendatus, ampliorem gratiam regis et favorem nobilium promerere potuisset. Qui tamen, derisiones quorundam non potens ferre, infra breve tempus secreto modo recessit, et, consilio malignorum consultus, ob vindic-

De domino Insu-  
larum.

tam suæ arrestationis villam regiam de Inverness combuffit ; propter quod rex iratus ultra modum, congregato exercitu, in partibus borealibus accessit, et eundem persequendo, multi de exercitu ejus eum relinquentes versus regem se retraxerunt, videlicet Clan de Guylle Quhatane et Clan Camerone. Quod videns dominus Insularum, consultus quibusdam amicis suis, sine conditione, pure et simpliciter reveniens regi, in misericordiam ejus se commisit ; cui rex clemens et misericors gratiam fecit ad requestam dominorum, et in custodiam apud castrum de Temptalone transmisit in custodia comitis Angusiæ, nepotis regis. Qui postea ad placitum regis veniens apud Halrudhouse coram magno altari, exutus<sup>1</sup> omnibus vestibus præter camisiam et femoralia, genuflectus misericordiam regis imploravit, ac gladium vibratum per punctum tenens in manibus regis exhibendo obtulit, cum hoc omnibus regni majoribus pro eo cum regina intercedentibus. Comitissam vero matrem ejus apud insulam Emoniaë transmisit, quæ ibidem per annum et ultra in custodia remansit.

## SEQUITUR DE FILIATIONE REGIS ET REGINÆ.

*Capitulum Quintum.*

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxx., nati sunt regi duo gemelli masculi, filii regis et reginæ, propter quod exultavit totus mundus gaudio valde in universo regno, et in villa de Edinburghe, eo quod nati sunt in monasterio Sanctæ Crucis, accensis ignibus jocunditatis, doleis vini omnibus patentibus cum cibariis publice omnibus venientibus, cum dulcissima harmonia omnium

De nativitate gemellorum fratrum regi.

<sup>1</sup> Exultus MS.

De obitu Jacobi  
regis secundi.

instrumentorum artis muficæ per totam noctem, laudes et gloriam Domino annunciantes pro univerfis donis et beneficiis fuis; xvj die menfis Octobris nati funt, primus enim vocatus eft Alexander, defunctus eft in juventute; fecundus natus, Jacobus, fecundus hujus nominis, qui obiit apud Roxburghe cum maximo honore anno Domini m.cccc.lx., tertio die Augufti, in ecclefia Sanctæ Crucis, ubi nafcebatur, inhumatus. Rex vero Jacobus primus, pater eorum, plures milites in tempore nativitatís eorum creavit, videlicet, hos duos filios fuos fuper fontem baptifmalem, fecundo vero, propter honorem illorum, multos alios creavit, quorum primus fuit filius cujufdam domini Urbis Romanæ, ibidem a caufa exiftentis, qui Princeps dictus eft, cum multis juvenibus filiis dominorum regni, videlicet Willelmum primogenitum comitis de Douglafe, juvenem, poftea capite truncatum, item, Willelmum filium et heredem Jacobi de Douglafe de Abercorne, poftea in caftro de Sterlyng occifum, item Johannem de Logan, dominum de Leftalryk poft patrem, item Jacobum heredem domini de Crychtoune, item Jacobum de Edmundftoune, item filium et heredem domini de Borthyk.

De Lyone can-  
nona.

Eodem anno rex de Flandria fecit adduci machinam bombardicam vocatam Lyoun, nunc in Anglia.

Item, anno [m.cccc.]xxxj., inchoatum eft confilium Bafilienfe, ubi maximum fchifma ortum eft per ducem Sabaudia, anno primo Eugenii papæ quarti hujus nominis.

Eodem anno areftati funt Archibaldus de Douglafe, comes ejufdem, nepos regis, et etiam dominus Johannes Kenedy, pro caufa, qui etiam fuit nepos regis. Rex vero in fuo parlamento apud Perth remifit domino Infularum et comiti de Douglafe; Johannes vero Kenedy cuftodiæ deputatus evafit, et feipfum exulavit fine reditu.



Natæ sunt etiam regi sex filiæ, quarum primæ fuit nupta Delphino Franciæ, sine liberis mortua est [M.cccc.]xlvi. anno.

Eodem anno, paulo ante parliamentum, quidam Infulanus, cui nomen Dony Balawch, apud Inverlochy Alanum Stewart, filium comitis Atholiæ, et qui etiam comes Cathaniæ fuit, cum duodecim nobilibus et eorum frequentibus in congressu bellico occidit, ubi prædictus comes de Mar Alexander Stewart se removendo in tempore salvavit.

Eodem anno Angufius MakDuff et Angufius de Moravia congressum simile habuerunt, qui paulo ante de carceribus regis evaserant. Inter quos de tribus millibus bellatorum vix triginta ex utraque parte evaserunt.

Anno Domini M.cccc.xxix., fundatum est monasterium Cartufiensium, Vallis Virtutis nuncupatum, videlicet Charter House, in australi insula de Perth, cujus primus prior ejusdem fuit Ofewaldus dictus, nobilis, religiosus, et magnæ prudentiæ.

De fundatione  
Charter-house  
in Perth.

Anno Domini M.cccc.xxxiiij., combustus est quidam hæreticus apud Sanctum Andream, Paulus Craw vocatus, unus de Pragencibus,<sup>1</sup> missus hic ad sanctificandam hæreticam suam pravitatem. Hæ sectæ Purgatorium non credunt, omnem religionem detestantur, peregrinationes vilipendentes abhorrent, ordines et ecclesiæ claves spernunt, etiam articulum fidei de resurrectione mortuorum non credunt, cum multis aliis conclusionibus falsis. Sed consilii generalis labor stetit circa quatuor articulos maxime et præcipue reconciliandos, primo videlicet de communione sacramenti sub utraque specie, de publica punitione<sup>2</sup> peccati mortalis notorii et dotatione et possessionibus ecclesiæ, et de verbi Dei libera prædicatione, an liceret omnibus indifferenter verba Dei prædicare. Omnes tamen istas

De Paulo Craw  
hæretico.

<sup>1</sup> Pragencibus MS.

<sup>2</sup> Punitione MS.

oppositiones et alias multas sagacitas consilii Basiliensis reformavit contra Pragenfes. Etiam tenuerunt quod pietas secularium principum erat supra pietatem spiritualement et ecclesiasticam, et quod<sup>1</sup> eis pertinebat, videlicet magistratibus, licite rectificare clericos et praelatos delinquentes absque licentia spiritualis potestatis, et auctoritate propria judicare de spirituali potestate, dicentes, ut præmittitur, quod spiritualis potestas subiecta est temporali potestati in regno temporali, et sic omnem possessionem volebant ab ecclesia Dei auferre, et ecclesiam possessionibus spoliare, ut sic deficiet fides Christi. Dixerunt etiam quod in palatia bene recta expediens esset domum, uxorem, et omnia bona esse communia omnibus, etiam et filias in conspectu patrum et uxores in conspectu maritorum. Sed per Consilium hæ hæreses erant reformatæ, et omnes tenentes illam sectam ab hereditatibus expulsi et exheredati, et eorum possessiones veris Christianis concessæ et possessæ ab eis; qui postea venientes ad Consilium postulabant eis eorum hereditates restitute,<sup>2</sup> quia contenti erant eorum errores revocare, quibus responsum fuit quod nequaquam in æternum hoc facerent, nam peccata sua pejora meruerunt, dicentes quod dignum est quod quis puniatur in eo quo<sup>3</sup> delinquit.

SEQUITUR QUALITER ANGLICI SUBTILITER VOLEBANT FRANGERE LIGAM  
INTER FRANCIAM ET SCOTIAM, CUM INCIDENTIIS.

*Capitulum Sextum.*

De consilio  
apud Perth, de  
pace perpetua  
adhibenda cum  
Anglis.

Circa idem tempus venit de Anglia quidam miles, missus a rege Angliæ regi Scotiæ et consilio cum certa commissione et instructionibus;

<sup>1</sup> Quos MS.

<sup>2</sup> Restitui (?)

<sup>3</sup> Quod MS.

unde rex informatus a quibusdam apud Perth congregavit consilium generale in mense Octobris. Proposita est materia de pace habenda cum Anglis perpetua, et de restituendis omnibus castris, villis, et possessionibus, quæ ad regnum Scotiæ per certa tempora transacta pertinere dinoscuntur, et præcipue Roxburgh et Berwyk, et omnia alia loca et possessiones quæ injuste alias de regno Scotiæ abstulerunt, et cum eis perpetuam pacem facerent; et hæc in præsentia regis ante magnum altare in ecclesia Prædicatorum apud Perth proposuerunt. Quibus breviter responsum, se velle libenter pacem cum libertate habere, alias non, et hoc concorditer de bono corde affectare. Tandem vocibus singulorum petentibus et opiniones responsum est per abbates de Scona et Emonia, 'quod rex sine concessione regis et regni Franciæ non poterat de pace perpetua cum rege Angliæ ullo modo concludere, viso quod per provisionem, concessum, et decretam consilii generalis tam regnorum Franciæ quam Scotiæ, et per confirmationem sedis apostolicæ, confederationes pacis perpetuæ inter regna concordata, ratificata, approbata, et confirmata existunt; sic quod inconsultis rege Franciæ et ejus parlamento, ac summo Pontifice, prædictæ confederationes infringi nullatenus potuerunt. Ad quam confederationem tenendam et inviolabiliter observandam, omnes reges Franciæ et Scotiæ magno juramento corporaliter affirmaverunt a tempore regis Karoli Magni usque nunc. Sed quod omnibus tangit ab omnibus approbari deberet, ergo,' et cætera. Præterea quod rex Scotiæ tunc præsens ad hoc tenendum et observandum, ut præmissum est, nuper corporale præstitit juramentum, cum aliis regni juratoribus; super qua materia fuit altercatio et disputatio magna, cum diversis argumentis et persuasionibus ad utramque partem, inter abbates prædictos ex una parte, et de Melrose abbatem ex altera, pro confederatione facienda cum pace perpetua cum Anglis absque concessione et benevo-

De responsione  
ejusdem.

Disputatio inter  
abbates de Fogo  
et Scone et  
Emonia coram  
rege de pace.

lencia Francorum regis, et quod utilius esset habere pacem cum Anglis vicinis et propinquis quam cum Francigenis de longe existentibus. Hanc enim partem magister Johannes Fogo, magister in sacra pagina, omnibus viribus tenuit, aliis in contrarium alteram partem sustinentibus; sed fideliter compertum est inveterata malitia Anglorum non meretur penes Scotiam, et quod hæc oblatio confederationis non erat nisi modus reperire ad feminandum schisma et divisionem in regno, et inter nos et amicos et confederatos nostros de Francia, et ad fuscitandam discordiam ubi firma fides, verus amor, et concordia fraternalis, inviolabiliter radicata est, et quod ipsi Anglici multa promittentes nihil de facto propter hoc perimplere volebant. Nam semper dum velint, occasiones ab amicis recedere invenire sciunt, ut ex eorum actibus antiquis evidentia perpetrati sceleris et experientia, quæ est rerum magister, demonstrant; et sic relinquitur materia indicis finaliter, sic quod nihil ad læsionem confederationis Franciæ et Scotiæ actum est.

De recupera-  
tione de Dunbar  
per Jacobum  
primum hujus  
nominis.

Anno Domini m.cccc.xxxiiij., cepit rex castrum de Dunbar, et ad custodiam illius commisit dominum de Halis, et in parlamento suo apud Perth, in proximo tento, dominum Georgium de Dunbar, comitem Marchiarum, exheredavit propter demerita sui patris, ipso pro actibus suis remissionem regis in prompto demonstrante. Verum tamen præcinxit eum rex comitem Bouchaniæ, et sibi dedit quadraginta libras annuatim pro vita sua et ad minus usque ad ætatem perfectam regis Jacobi, etiam post mortem regis Jacobi primi domini consules parlamenti hoc idem sibi concesserunt et heredi suo.

De obitu comitis  
de Mar.

Anno Domini m.ccc.xxxv., obiit Alexander Steuwart, comes de Mar, qui in bellis de Legis et Arlaw strenue se habuit, et in multis aliis con-

fictibus. Et quia bastardus erat sic succellit rex de facto, licet de jure, secundum quosdam, domini de Erkyne et de Lyle jure hereditario debuissent succellisse.

SEQUITUR QUALITER REX JACOBUS PRIMUS CASTRUM DE ROXBURGHE  
OBSESSIT, CUM INCIDENTIIS.

*Capitulum Septimum.*

Anno quo supra, videlicet [M.ccc.]xxxv., rex Jacobus primus hujus nominis, validissimo exercitu congregato, obseffit castrum de Roxburghe circa principium mensis Augusti, erat enim numero plus quam ducenta millia armatorum. Sed quia his ibidem per quindenam expectantibus, et nihil dignum memoriæ agentibus propter detestabile schisma et nequissimam divisionem ex invidia ortam, infecto negotio et perditis omnibus nobilibus magnis machinis, tam cannalibus quam fundalibus, artilliaris, cum etiam pulveribus machinalibus, carris et quadrigis, ac cum multis aliis rebus summe ad obsidionem necessario requisitis, cum summa dedecoris ad propria reversi sunt.

De obsidione  
Roxburghe.

Eodem etiam anno legatus domini Eugenii papæ in Scotiam intravit, paulo ante festum Natalis Domini, episcopus videlicet Urbinatensis, admissus per regem et clerum apud Perth ad habendum audientiam in parlamento inchoando quarto die Februarii. Sed propter infortunium inopinatæ mortis regis, qua præventus fuit, officium legationis non exercuit, sed dolorosus ultra credi potest recessit.

Eodem anno obiit episcopus Dunkeldensis, de Cardine vocatus, et electus est dominus Jacobus de Kennedy, nepos regis, ubi stetit episcopus

De episcopo  
Glasguensi, vi-  
delicet, Bruyse.

per duos annos, et in tertio anno ad episcopatum Sancti Andreae promotus est. Et post eundem dominum, in episcopatu Dunkeldenfi provisione apostolica fuit promotus dominus Alexander de Lawder, notabilis vir, qui vixit annum tantum, defunctus apud Edinburghe anno [M.cccc.]xl., et c. Cui post hoc successit magister Jacobus de Bruyse, qui diu non stetit ibidem, sed ad episcopatum Glasguensem fuit translatus auctoritate apostolica, et infra duos vel tres annos post ejus promotionem defunctus est apud Edinburghe, et in Dunfermlyne sepultus in capella Sanctae Mariae, anno Domini M.cccc.xlvii., et sic non remansit episcopus, ut videre licet,<sup>1</sup> nisi per septem annos vel eo circa. Cui in episcopatu Dunkeldenfi successit magister Johannes de Ralestone, secretarius regis, qui non diu vixit etiam, et in episcopatu Glasguensi sibi successit magister Willelmus Trumbule, custos privati sigilli, qui similiter non diu duravit, et sic in istis duobus episcopatibus infra decem annos decem episcopi praefuerunt, vel, ut non mentiar, eo circa, ut evidentia rerum demonstrat.

De morte Mar-  
garitae delphinæ  
Franciæ.

Circa idem tempus, anno Domini M.cccc.xlv., Margareta Delphina Franciæ, cum rege et regina Franciæ ac cum proprio marito summe dilecta, in flore juventutis, quasi regem et reginam ad nutum gubernavit suo consilio, prudentia ac sapientia summa, per quam apud regem Franciæ et reginam fuit summe dilecta et credita, et ejus verba exaudita. Sed heu, pro dolor! quod me oporteat scribere quod dolenter refero de ejus morte, cum mors, quæ cuncta rapit viventia conditione pari absque personarum differentia, eandem dominam ad solvendum naturæ debitum in flore juventutis sine prole de domo regni Franciæ brevi languore eripuit.

<sup>1</sup> Videlicet, MS.

Cujus inopiam ea mors apud Chalons en la contee de Champaigne, id est, in civitate Calonenfi infra comitatum Campaniæ, ubi inhumata permanfit, multorum corda tam Franciæ quam Scotiæ dolore nimio denigravit. Nam ego, qui scribo hæc, vidi eam omni die vivam, omni die cum rege Franciæ et regina ludentem, et per novem annos sic continuantem. Postea vero, tempore contractus matrimonii inter regem Henricum Angliæ et filiam regis Cecilie et fratris reginæ Franciæ, infra octo dies vidi eam sanam et mortuam, ac evisceratam, et in cafula plumbea in ecclesia cathedrali dictæ civitatis Calonenfis ad cornu magni altaris ex parte boreali in quadam tumba positam; rege dicente quod post pauca tempora levare faceret eam, et apud Sanctum Dionisium inter reges et reginas universas ibidem collocari. Cujus Epitaphium sequitur consequenter hic, quod super ejus tumbam positum fuit post mortem in lingua Gallicana, modo hic in lingua Scotticana translatum ad præceptum regis Jacobi Secundi, fratris ejusdem dominæ.

INCIPIT LAMENTATIO DOMINI DALPHINI FRANCIE PRO MORTE UXORIS  
SUE, DICTE MARGARETÆ.

*Capitulum Octavum.*

Thee mychti Makar of the major monde,  
Quhilk reuly rollis thir hevinly regions round  
About this erd, be mocioune circuler,  
Ger all the cloudis of the hevin habound,  
And fouk up all thir watteris hal and founde,  
Baith of salt fey, of burne, well, and revere,

Syne to descende in tygglande teris tere,  
 To weip with me this wofull waymenting,  
 This petwys playnt of a princeß but peir,  
 Qubilk dülfull deed has tane till his duelling.

Fill burnis, wellis, reveris, and fountayns,  
 Baith stankis and louchiße and waleiße of montayns,  
 Of glowdis of forow, of angger, and distref,  
 And baith my hart, in endleße wo that payns,  
 For derfnes and dispyt of deed nocht fayns,  
 Qubilk as ws reft sa ryal a richeße,  
 Wes never git more gret pete of a princeße,  
 In quhome regnyt [the] floure of nobilite,  
 Helpe to murne, and murne hir mare and leße,  
 Quhilk for difeiße dayly but dreid I dee.

Ger all the ayre that in the hycht above is,  
 And all the wyndis that under the hevyne amovis,  
 Turn all in fobbyng and in fichyng foore,  
 Ger all thir foulis that melody contruvis,  
 And all thir birdis that syngand heir for luveis,  
 Turne all thair joy in foro and in coore,  
 And help to murne this dul my lady foore,  
 And wary weird, quhilk banyft as of France  
 The mirrour of vertu and warldis glore,  
 Quhilk deed has reft but reuth or rapentance.

God of nature, quhilk all this eird honouris  
 With fruyt and fulge, with herbe, fluriße, and flouris,



Fair flurifand and freche in thair verdoure,  
 Of quhilk the fleuvir to the hevyne retouris,  
 And al the frechneß of thair faire figouris,  
 Zeildis thaim and wourfchip to thair Creatoure,  
 Gyf defaid thaire freschneß for thi gret valoure,  
 And turn in blakyng all thaire luftineß,  
 Heil never this erde more with plesand coloure,  
 Quhill we have murnyt the dull of our mastref.

Turne all in blak that aire was fresche of hew,  
 And in murnyng all myrth, musik, and glew;  
 Owre fyle the sone with myst and with merkneß,  
 Ger every wy that are of luffe wèß trew,  
 Of<sup>1</sup> mynd of my regret and on me rew,  
 And stanche in erde all folace and blythneß;  
 Turne all at is blyth in breith and villneß,  
 And in murnyng all myrth and melody,  
 Quhill we have murnyt the dule of our mastref  
 Lat nature thole na kynge leife heire gladly.

Bot nocht withstandyng thaire is mare of this lamentacioun xvij  
 coupill, and in the anfuere of Resoun alß mekill, this may suffyce,  
 for the complant is bot fengeit thing; bot be caus the tothir part,  
 quhilk is the anfuere of Resoun, is verray futhfastneß, me think it  
 gud to put mare of it, quhilk followis thus efterwarte.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

Thow man, that is of pouer and smal valoure,  
 Leifful to joy, sonne movyt to doloure,  
 And thou knew weill thin auvyne creatioun  
 Thow makis gret falt in forþ of thi furoure,  
 All thus but cauþ to crab thi Creatoure,  
 And thou wald have confideracioun,  
 Thou art subjeþt till all humain paffioun,  
 Sic is thi det, fic is thi due dwtye;  
 And thou will feik to thi salvacioun,  
 Have mynd of miserable humanite.

Lat be thi dull, thir ar bot dualmys of deed,  
 Quhare reuth is quhy fekis thou remede?  
 Quhy ravyþ thou, and thou man refonabile;  
 Finare of forge, as gold is be the leid,  
 Of wyt and wyfdoume, of confale and of reed,  
 Fra nature beftiall; this is na fabill.  
 Discreccioun fchawys the deferans veritable  
 Betueix refoun and fenfualite,  
 Sen God hes gevyne the vyt and knowlige abille,  
 Than fuld thou fchaw quhether man or beft thou be.

Thou fais that this regratit he princeþ,  
 Quhill owre the lave of vertu was peirleþ,  
 Was tane owre foun in floure of hire fairheid,  
 And countand of hir bewteis mare and leþ,  
 And how with all men luffit and lovyt fcho weþ,  
 Quhilk was gret worfchip till all womanheid;

Thocht all this warld fuld well in wo and weid  
 No wonder war ; bot quhat ma this availze?  
 It mendis hir nocht to meryt na to meid,  
 Bot till hir frendis payne, tynfale, and travailze.

Thow fuld weill knaw that He, that all as made,  
 As langand governance of his Godhade,  
 Nathing myffaris, bot all dois for the best,  
 And all this warld, that is baith lang and braid,  
 He ordane[s] for refeccioune of manhaid,  
 Bot nocht forthy that it fuld all wais left  
 In heritage, bot pilgrame or gest,  
 Of lauwaft hyme to . . . , . . . .<sup>1</sup>  
 And wynne pardoune to bryng hir faul to rest  
 Efter this lyff, for neydleß we mone dee.

He maid this warld nocht to be ay leftand  
 Bot to renew, and ay be renewand  
 Fra lyff to deed, fra deed to lyff agane;  
 He maid nature to be his lufftenand,  
 To forge the werkis he has tane on hand,  
 For he left nocht hyme selfe to tak the payne;  
 Syne ordand he that deed fuld be ay bayne  
 To tak his werkis in thaire best fefoune,  
 His diligatis dois na thyng heir in veyne,  
 Oure thame he ordande wifdome and refoune.

<sup>1</sup> Erased in MS.

Quhat mycht God mare do till his creatoure  
 Bot dow hire with the giftis of nature?  
 With all bewteis of fresche feminite?  
 First giffand hir the fairneß of figoure,  
 With plesand propirneß of portratoure,  
 Enforft with fortoune in the heaft gre,  
 Syne passand utheris of gudneß and beute,  
 Thir thre gyftis cummys ay fra the fader doune,  
 Suppoß the twa may nocht ay lestand be,  
 Thare is na rychteß peire to gud ranoune.

Fra we cum first in this world mortelle,  
 Cled with this corruptible corps carnelle,  
 We draw to deed, and deiß everilk day,  
 Syne anone we paß to lyffyng eternelle,  
 To lestand joy or payne perpetuelle;  
 We may never wyt, will we be wente oure way,  
 This world is maid for that world to purvay,  
 Nocht heire to leif in lustis at all oure eiß;  
 Men wynnys nocht evyne to dance, and fyng, and play,  
 Bot payn and penitence oure Lord mone pleiß.

Thaire is nocht heire bot vayne and vanite,  
 Baith pompe and pryd with passand poverté,  
 Weire and invy with cankirryt cuvatiß,  
 And every man a lord defyris to be  
 Quhilk has na lose, rycht now away is he,

And efter hym a nother foun will ryf;  
 Wyykkytare welthe and wourthy men peryf,  
 A man weill fet thocht he be kyng with croune,  
 And he inclinde be for to do justiee  
 Thai fall never ceiff quhill at thai bryng hym doune.

The lang lyff is nocht profitable heire,  
 Quhill we be went oure will is ever in weire,  
 And fyne the passage is rycht peralus,  
 We have bot bale will we be brocht one beire;  
 Bot fyne we ordande ar till have gud cheire,  
 And we do weill traift weill it fall be thuff,  
 Cryft fcheu quhen he rasyt Lazaruff;  
 He grat oure hyme, for he kneu weil the payne  
 He fuld have in this lyffynge languaruff,  
 Never till have joy till he war deide agayne.

Sene we have heire na cete permanante,  
 Oure faule, quhilk is in oure body lent,  
 Is haldyne in ws as it war in perfoune,  
 Ordant for to purvay for the parliament,  
 Till anfuere at the dreidful jugement;  
 Thaire is oure rest, thaire is oure rycht fefoune,  
 This warld is bot a permutacioune,  
 We fuld it hayt and lall<sup>1</sup> that it ma feire;

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

Oure Lorde refufit the dominacioune,  
Sayand the prince of it was Lucifere.

The luft is fchort, joy has na day till ende,  
Welth is oure blande, myfdeide has nane attende,  
The wykkyt win with braak<sup>1</sup> paff away,  
Gudmen ar lounen,<sup>2</sup> the wykkyt weil ar kend;  
Mychty mane compt for all the gude thai fpend,  
And quhen thai paff quhat lordfchip mare have thai  
Bot as the pure, that haf his lenth of clay?  
Quha moft gud has nocht heire has bot the name,  
And blyndis thame, that thai ma nocht heire purvay  
To graith thaire gait one to thaire langeft hame.

Sene warldis welth is al bot vayn glory,  
And warldis wyfdome al bot fyne foly,  
And God as gevyne ws wyt and knalage abille  
To depert refoun fra his contrary,  
And keip ws that we eie<sup>3</sup> nocht opinly  
To mak ws till oure Makare deteftable,  
Be nocht in to the vertu veritable,  
Bot foberly in paciens tak and gre  
For hire; fcho thankis nane to be lamentable,  
Scho is in joy, as be oure faythe traft we.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.<sup>2</sup> louné MS.<sup>3</sup> Sic MS.

Quhat proffyt is it with fortune for to flyt?  
Deed, weird, na fortune ar nocht for to wyt,  
Thai do nocht bot throu soverayne ordinance;  
In that scho was off bowte mare perfyte,  
Of princis cummyng, and in to peirles plyte,  
Hire deed dois al men gret car [and] displefance.  
Hir vertu and hir gudly guvernance,  
Quhilkis garis hir have fa mekil honor heire,  
Suld be till all goure paynis allegiance,  
To flok goure fyt and gare gou mak gud cheire.

Thow suld traift that scho was virgyne pure and cleyne  
Borne and upbrocht, with vertu ever has beyne  
In houf ryalle in till hir tender age,  
Leyffand but fyn, and mekyl gud as feyne,  
Dyd never of plycth the pointyr of a preyne,  
Tynt nocht hir maidenheid for hir mariage;  
Scho schew weill that scho was nocht [ ] parage  
Scho mad gud end, and deit with all gud devyff;  
Thus als fer as man may have knalage,  
We traift hir faule restis in paradys.

It grevyff God in His he mageste,  
Wenand that man is mare of [mycht] than he,  
Quhilk is contrare till his commandmente,  
Deed makis na differens of na dignite,  
Of bonte, bewte, na of rycheff he,

His<sup>1</sup> deed alowyt is at the parliament;  
 Sobris gour wyt and stabill gour entent,  
 For ge wait nocht how fone gour caff ma cum,  
 And have mynd of the dreidfull jugiment,  
 Sum ar heire crouff that thaire will fyt full dum.

Lat be thi mane and murne for hir no more,  
 Thou fuld mak joy quhare [thou] now makis care,  
 Sen fcho deceft with all the facramentis,  
 Quhene fcho was borne men wyft fcho fuld cum thaire,  
 Thaire is na thyng that ma left ever mare  
 That compunde is of brukyll alymentis,  
 Scho has affyhit deed of all his rentis,  
 Hir dule is done, fcho as na more ado  
 Bot double hir joy efter the jugmentis,  
 Weill war the wy that weill ma cum therto!

In this mater it feris no mare to pleid;  
 God fparyt nocht his awyne Sone fra the deid,  
 Gart hym [tak] manheid of the may Mary,  
 Syne offerit hym for oure fynnys remeid,  
 Quhare fynful man nicht na thyng stand in fteid,  
 He was ful worthy for that legafy,  
 Quha wald mak dule for deed in ys party?  
 Sene mony a thoufand martir and virgin cleyne  
 Was put to deed with tyrannis cruely  
 Quhy fuld we thane for faire deed murne or meyne?

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.



Tak gude comfurte and leife in hop of grace,  
 And think how fcho, throw vertu and gudnaffe,  
 Baith luffit and lovit with God and men has beyne,  
 And think how that x m. geire that waffe  
 Quhen it is gane femys bot ane houre of fpaffe,  
 Lik till a dreame that we had dremyt geiftreyne;  
 Gar haly kyrk have mynd one hir and meyne,  
 Think one thi felfe and all the myß amend,  
 And pray to Mary moder, virgyne cleyne,  
 That for hir grace fcho bring ws to gud end.

AMEN.

EXPLICIT CONSOLATIO RATIONIS AD LAMENTATIONEM.

SEQUITUR DE MORTE REGIS JACOBI HUIUS NOMINUS PRIMI CUJUS IMMEN-  
 SUS DOLOR TOTI CHRISTIANITATÆ DISPLICUIT, CUM INCIDENTIIS.

*Capitulum Nomen.*

Anno gratiæ m.cccc.xxxvj., postquam rex de obsidio de Roxburghe  
 reversus est, et parliamentum suum ad audientiam legato summi Pontificis  
 dandam apud Perth constituit, intravit Sathanas in corda proditorum  
 quorundam, ejus mortem a longe retroactis temporibus ex antiquæ et  
 inveteratæ malitiæ invidia machinantium, per quam alias multotiens ex  
 infidiis quærebant eum, in multis locis conantes cum occidere. Sed quia  
 nullam potestatem in eum poterant habere, nisi eis esset desuper, eo quod

De morte regis  
 Jacobi primi.

nondum adhuc venerat hora ejus, tandem, captato tempore opportuno, quidam Robertus de Grahame cum suis complicitibus, videlicet, Christofero de Camera cum Thoma ejus fratre, ambo filii Johannis de Camera burgenfis dictæ villæ de Perth, cum eis duo fratres cognominati de Hall, et aliis multis, adjunctis eis Roberto de Steuwart, filio videlicet David Steuwart, filii et heredis comitis Walteri Steuwart de Atholia, patri regis Jacobi de quo fit sermo, qui David in Anglia eo tunc erat in hostagio pro rege supradicto et ejus deliberatione, in prima Quadragesimæ septimana, in monasterio Fratrum Minorum de Perth, in noctis latibulo, in propria camera occiderunt, cujus occasio fuit ille serpens antiquus dierum malorum, inveteratus comes Atholiæ supradictus, qui a longo tempore callide ad coronam aspirabat, qui etiam conciliarus præcipuus erat ad perdendum ducem Murdachum Albanie cum ejus filiis, nec non et ducem Rosay, ad finem quod ipse agnus innocens putativus ad apicem regni aliorum crimine evacuatis<sup>1</sup> levius poterat pervenire. Ipse etiam nutrix erat totius proditionis traditionis ipsius regis, per quod mors intravit in regno Scotiæ, cujus supernum damnum non delebitur in tempore viventium. Nam fama ejus nominis per omnia regna Christianitatis transivit. Tantæ enim virtutis, strenuitatis, et prudentiæ erat, quod nunquam in partibus istis, citra mare Gallicum, inter principes parem<sup>2</sup> sibi in scriptis repirere poterimus. Nam si totus mundus sub regimine unius personæ poterat licite comprehendere, ipse, exigentibus suis prudentia, sapientia, et virtutum meritis et probitate, ad regimen totius digne meruit exaltari. Omnes enim regnicolæ hujus regni de calice amaritudinis ejus mortis liberunt, quem hujus amaræ mortis satellites participes in ejus occisione eisdem propinaverunt; propter quod omnes inferiores, tanquam felli

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.<sup>2</sup> Pari, MS.

potati, intoxicati sunt. Ipse enim a legato apostolico per octo dies ante hoc confessus est et absolutus a pœna et culpa. Iste vero Robertus de Grahame, cum suis complicitibus, nequissimis proditoribus, per medium supradicti Roberti Steuwart, in cameram dicti strenuissimi principis custodibus evacuatam, proditorum etiam cohortibus invallatam et circumseptam, circa horam noctis decimam eundem principem inermem, vestibus exutum, crudeliter sine misericordia occidendo jugulaverunt; qui ante mortem mirabilem defensionem faciens, primos in se irruentes<sup>1</sup> in fortitudine brachii sui ad terram usque prostravit, donec et quousque tanta multitudo eum circumclufit quod eum amplius ab omnibus defendere non potuit. Et sic, tanquam agnus innocens ad victimam ductus, gratias agens et misericordiam ab Altissimo implorando, elevatis manibus ad cœlum, expiravit; in cujus pectore supra umbiculus, post lotionem vulnerum, viginti et octo plagæ perfoffatæ repertæ sunt. Hanc etiam persecutionem propter justitiam passus est; quod videns legatus papæ, qui infra octabas præcedentes eum a pœna et culpa abolverat, cum lachrymofis suspiriis, emissa voce magna, et ejus vulnera osculando lachrymabilia, coram omnibus astantibus dixit, quod ipse in periculo animæ suæ caperet quod ipse in statu gratiæ, pro defensione reipublica et executione justitiæ, tanquam martyr defunctus est.

Iste vero relinquens post se filium suum, Jacobum secundum, ætatis sex annorum, et sex filias, videlicet, Margaritam Dalphinellam Franciæ, Ysabbellam ducissam Britaniæ, Mariam comitissam Bouchaniæ in Selandia maritatum, ac Helienoram ducissam Austriæ; hæ vero quatuor filiæ ultra mare nuptæ sunt; aliæ vero duæ in Scotia, videlicet, Johanna comitissa de Mortoune, et Maria comitissa de Hontley; quibus honor et gloria in secula seculorum.—AMEN.

Nomina sex  
filiarum regis  
Jacobi primi.

<sup>1</sup> Irruens, MS.

## SEQUITUR DE TERRIBILI JUDICIO PRO MORTE REGIS SCOTIÆ.

*Capitulum Decimum.*

De morte proditorum regis Jacobi.

Post hæc autem præfati proditores cum eorum nequissimis fatellitibus capti sunt, incarcerationi, et crudelissimis tormentis condemnati, et morti amarissimæ deputati, in quadrigis nudi per villas ducti, et per tortores ferris candentibus puncti, infossati, postea ad summitatem mali navis per funiculos tracti, et posterius ad ima descendentes eviscerati, tracti ut traditores, et decapitati et demembrati et in quarteriis per carnifices divisi, ac eorum membra post hoc in portis villarum et oppidum, ad aliorum exempla traditorum, suspensa fuerunt, ac eorum capita in excelsis locis notabilioribus villarum et civitatum super spicas ferreas exaltata. Exceptis duobus de dictis traditorum complicitibus, fratribus germanis de Berclays de Tyntmure cognominatis, qui in partibus Franciæ clanculo evaserunt, et in partibus Britanniae Minoris cogniti, capti, et ad ducem nobilissimum Johannem ducti, qui dux instructus de crimine simili morti depravit,<sup>1</sup> ut supradictum est, et sic nullus omnino evasit. Post cujus obitum in tota Christianitate, ut veraciter æstimo, ad utilitatem regni et regimen reipublicæ non reliquit sibi parem; tantæ enim prudentiæ erat quod omnia novit, omnia scivit, ecclesiam honoravit, operarios et colonos<sup>2</sup> dilexit, agricolas protexit, pauperes, pupillos, viduas, orphanos, et omnes miserabiles personas defendere voluit. O lachrymanda, miranda, et lamentanda mors misera, quæ nulli excellentiæ parcat, immo Conditori pari omnia rapit. Judicia enim Dei abyssus multa; nam sicut exaltatur cœlum a terra ita viæ ejus a viis hominum, et cogitationes ejus a cogitationibus eorum. Sed heu! quod reges nostri

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

<sup>2</sup> Colnes, MS.

juvenes sunt sæpius, in quorum temporibus justitia claudicat frequenter, et causa hujus est eo quod non sunt sapientes, nec prudentes ad cognoscendam viam æquitatis et justitiæ. Nam, ut dicunt sancti viri, princeps non literatus a finis coronatus, quia cæci sunt principes non literati. Item, propheta in tuba Domini dicit, 'Captivus ductus est populus meus, quia non habuerunt scientiam, et principes eorum perierunt.' Etiam principes qui sunt ignari ignaros constituunt suos officarios justitiæ et cæcos, nihil scientes sapientiæ, scientes vel prudentiæ; et causa est quia nobiles Scotiæ non dignantur scientiam addiscere. Sed quomodo potest quis scire litteras nisi prius didicerit eas? Ideo justitia [in] regno Scotiæ est debilis et tepida in defectu regum, juvenum, et baronum insipientium,<sup>1</sup> quod dolenter refero. Sed quia in defectu justitiæ multi perierunt fame, quidam sitientes et esurientes justitiam quamdam instructionem ignavis iudicibus in vulgari modo compilavit<sup>2</sup> ut sequitur.

<sup>1</sup> Incipientium, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Sic MS.



INCIPIT ENIM SIC FIGURATA PER CITHERAM<sup>1</sup> STATUM REGNI DESIGNANS  
QUEDAM MORALITAS.

*Capitulum Undecimum.*

Rycht as all ftryngis ar rewlyt in a harpe  
In an accorde, and turnyt all be ane uth,  
Quhilk is as kyng, thane curiusly thai carpe,  
The fang is fueit quhen that the found is fuyth;  
Bot quhene thai ar discordand, fals, and muth,

<sup>1</sup> Scitheram, MS.

Thaire will na man tak plesance in that play,  
Thai mycht weill thole the menstrale war away.

Bot, and the stryngis be nocht all trew and traft,  
Quhat fall we fa? fall we the menstrale wyt?  
Yha bot he bent and pruve thaim with his wraft,  
Be thai untreu pul out and mak all qwyt,  
And utheris treu put in thaire steddis als tyt,  
And change ay sua, quhil he find trew acord,  
Thane will men fa he is worth to be a lord.

Thou ryall kyng all thus fuld reule thi realme;  
Gud founde and futhfast to thi fuggeß gyve,  
The tung to teiche all fuld be tane is toune,  
The luffe fuld gar thi leigis laulyk leyve,  
Thou fuld fyft the subjectis throw a feyve,  
Se quha war worth to worfchip, quha to wa,  
And thaim rewarde efter as thai cauß the ma.

Raward worthy and punys wikkytneß,  
Nuris vertu, exclude vice and erroure,  
Confider weill the found of thi gud fuggeß,  
Knew thaire curage as face in a meroure;  
Sene God maid the to be thaire governoure,  
And thou put blynd men in thi governance,  
Thou fall be punyft for thaire ignorance.

For sic men as thou deputis under the,  
Quhether thai be full wykkyt men or wyß,

All men will traft that fik lyk man thou be,  
 As thow committis to governe thin office;  
 How fuld a mane but knaulage keip juftice?  
 Nor but wyfdome be a governoure?  
 Thus may thow never of thi diedis haf honour.

Bot gare gounge lordis ftudy in the lawyß,  
 And in thaire gouthaide tak fum techement;  
 How fuld a man be wyß that na thyng knawiß  
 To gyff the counfale in thi parlement?  
 Nor for to gyff a rychtwyß jugement?  
 Or for to governe juftice in the landis,  
 That has thaire wyt to feik at utheris handis?

O prince, think quhy thi croune was gevyn the till,  
 Thi fueirde, thi feptoure, in takyngnge of juftiße,  
 Fra heaft God to difcerne gud fra ill,  
 Expell wykkyt, and lufe thaim that ar wyß;  
 And oure all thing put wyß men in office,  
 And know thaim weill that fall thi jugis be,  
 Sen all the pleicht and perale lyis on the.

Bot, fen a mannis wyt may nocht fuffiße  
 For to maynteynie fa hee a governance,  
 Thow fuld gar cheriße the confale at war wyß,  
 Be all the iij. Eftatis ordinance;  
 And lay all hale the charge in thare balance,  
 To gyff the confale in thi goverment,  
 As thai will anfueire at the hee jugement.



And cheiſ na man, for hee lordſchip, na blud,  
 Na gret pouwar of ryches, to confale,  
 Bot be eleccioune choſyne men of gud,  
 Quhilk God and man pleſ thare governale,  
 Quhilkis as the votiffe of all the commons hale,  
 To luſſe God, lawte, juſtice, and prudence,  
 And knawyne of gud lyſſe and of gud concience.

And tak nocht all the birdyng on the bak,  
 With ſpeciale counſale in to privyte ;  
 Gyff it be ill, thou ſall have all the lak,  
 Thoht it be weil ſmale honoure is to the ;  
 For ever the proffyt of the comunitie  
 Is put abak, quhen ſic men has the cure,  
 And ever the crowne is indegent and pure.

This may ſe<sup>1</sup> be futh experience,  
 Be officeris that has the gud to ſpend,  
 Thai gar the trow thou may nocht niak dyspence  
 On thi houſhalde nocht half a geire till end,  
 Bot in huntyne and in fornyngie thai the fend  
 On lordis and one abbais heire and thare ;  
 Thai by lordſchyppis, bot thou art alwais bare.

Quhat makkis this bot catyfe tratouris,  
 Quhilkis couth never confale bot in cuvatyf ?  
 Quhilkis had never hart, na heid, till he honoris,

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

Wenand na wy but wrechitnefe is wyff ?  
 Lord God ! quhare are thir princis hee of priff  
 Quhilkis in justice fet all thare erdly glore,  
 And rychit thaim felfe and thaire realme more and more !

Thaire fuld never catyfe confale be to kyng,  
 Na kyng fuld never of his fmale coumptis know,  
 Na wit of fcantneß, na of wrechyt thyng,  
 That mycht his hart to dreid of myfter draw ;  
 All his delyt fuld be to keip the law,  
 For hee honour, hee worfchip and ranoune,  
 With wrechitneß reftis never in a perfoune.

It is degradyng till a kyngis croune  
 To mell hym with fmale wrechyt befyneß,  
 Na with na tutwlaris for to rouk and rounne,  
 To leire to conquest guddis with fcantneß ;  
 Nobilite fuld mell bot with nobilneß,  
 And fpecialy the ryale magefte  
 Suld never be travelde bot in materis hee.

For fic men confalis ever to cuvatyß,  
 The quhilk to law is mortale enemy ;  
 Gret cuvatiß is merchande of juftyß,  
 And ever is redy law to fell and by.  
 Suld nane be fic of thi confale for thy,  
 Na beire office quhare in thi honoure lyiß,  
 Quhilkis mycht be bocht fra justice on this wyiß.

Bot wald thou wit all the providence,  
 Of all thin office to thi gret confale;  
 To cheiſ trew men that war of he prudence,  
 Of all guddis to have the governale,  
 Quhilkis war nother wrechit, gredy, nor perchiale,  
 Sparand the gud, and ſpendand thi honore  
 Mar for thaire profyt na for thi valoure;

And exclude all effeccioune ſingulere,  
 And to the commoun profyt ever tak heide;  
 Quhene kyngis fettis thaim for prow particulere  
 Thaire realme fall never have honour of thaire deide,  
 Downtis thou to want, or quhare of has thou dreide?  
 Luffe weill thi God, and ſerve and keip juſtiſſ;  
 Rycheſ redondis to men that ar rychtwyſſ.

Quha wald be ryche have ee till honour ay,  
 For rycheſ folouys honour ever mare;  
 Till honour wyſdom is the neraſt way,  
 And wyſdum to vertu is the verra ayre,  
 And vertu cumys of ſcience and of lare,  
 And ſcience cumys only of Goddis grace;  
 Conqueſt throw gud lyffe, travale, and beſynace.

Thus, ſen vertu is ground of alkyne grace,  
 And ſoveraune floure of vertu is juſtiſſ,  
 As well of worſchipe and of wordyneſſ,

Sen nane ar false bot men that ar rychtwyß,—  
 Hald vertu in thi hart and thou be wyß,  
 And in justice fet all thi besy cure,  
 Thi realme fall ryche and thou fall never be pure.

Quhen Rome was regnet be wyßmen cenatouris,  
 In justice and in publik polefy  
 Owre all this erd thai ware lordis and victouris,  
 And tuk tribut for soverane syngnyfy;<sup>1</sup>  
 Bot quhene the well of justice was gan dry,  
 And publyk prow passit in divisioun,  
 Thair gret glore turnyt in defolacioun.

Heirfor keip law, gyff thou will hald thi land;  
 And luff larges, or thou fall lordschip leyß;  
 But quhilkis gret state mycht never lang stedfast stand,  
 The sampill futh befor thi self thou seyß,  
 For falt of law all favore of fortune fleyß,  
 Hir forfetturis fermly scho haldis of feed,  
 For quhilkis hir dynt is dishonor or deed.

Justice makis ryche bath realme and ceteyß,  
 Baith kyng and knave, knyght, clergy and commone;  
 Haldis pepill in pes and gud prosperiteyß,  
 Salfis thaire faulis, makis thaire salvacioun:  
 Quhar lak of law bryngis all this up fid doune,

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

And makis all pure, bath prince and potentatis;  
 Thane God and man and all this warld thaim hatis.

Quhare is thi mycht, thi gold and thi ef,  
 That to the spard wes in thi tender age?  
 Quhilk fa mychti in Scotland never gyt wes,  
 Nother kyng na prince that men as in knalage,  
 The to fuple at neid in thi barnage,  
 In tyme of weire or uthir neceffite,  
 Quhare it is now? quha can the tell? lat se!

And all the fommyß of jowalis and trefoure  
 Of thin elderis, quhare is it went away?  
 Quhan it as now fuld thou ask comt therfore  
 Off the dettouris maft forß ar lukyn in clay?  
 Thi gret gouthage has put let in delay;  
 Thus mone thou mak of neid vertu I traft,  
 To crave deid men thou travelis all in waft.

Bot gret perale of this is aperand,  
 That quhene a kyng is bare and has na gud  
 In his trefoure, and fyne a barane land,  
 Of mynnis of gold na boilgone multitude,  
 Fertill of folk with gret scantneß of fud,  
 Have hym behuyß the contre mone hym beere;  
 Thus mone he tak of thaim that as maft geire.

Justice wald have a generale president,  
 Ane auditoure of complayntis of the pure,  
 Quhilk dayly fuld minifter jugement

To pure folk that cryis justice at the dure,  
 Spendand mare na thaire clame is of valure,  
 And put a bak quhill gret caus be defyd,  
 Syne lefand all, for poverté may nocht byd.

It is unpossibile to thi gret confale  
 For till discuf all caus smal and gret,  
 Bot to smale men commyt all caus smale  
 Of pure plantis that ghameris at thi get,  
 Quhilkis dayly has nocht halfe thaire fill of met,  
 With wyffis and barnis fuowand for falt of bred,  
 For quhilkis God fall the chalance of thaire deed.

Thy jugis als, at has justice to leed,  
 Abufis oft tyme thaire juridiccioune;  
 Stopand the law for luff, frenschip, or feed,  
 For reddoure, raquest, for meid or warryfoune;  
 Syn quhen party complengeis to the croune  
 Thai send thaim to thaire awyne jugis agane,  
 Quhilkis for thaire playnt full deire sal be the payne.

Bot this is nocht the rycht ordoure of justice,  
 Quhene ony party complengeis to the croune  
 Apone a juge, that he be nocht rychtwyß,  
 His playnt is worth ane appellacioune;  
 Thane fuld the confale gar wifmen fyt doune,  
 Se quhilk of thaim as rycht, and quha the wrang,  
 And punyß weil the faultoure or he gang.

And gyf the juge makis fault or forfeiture,  
Commyttand crime on to thi mageste  
In his office, the quhilk thou beris the cure,  
Punyþ that weil, as it afferis to be,  
And lat hym never beire office mare of the;  
Quhilk gyff thou dois nocht, fra that tyme forthe vart  
Of his mysdeid thou art baith art and part.

Iij. maneris ar of iustice generale;  
Fyrst to thi God, syne to thin awyne perfoune;  
To God thou hald thi hart and consciens hale,  
As to thi felfe thou exceid nocht refoune,  
Syne to law, to pepill, and to commoune,  
Bot fyrst thou fchaw thaim a gud mirroure,  
For pepill oft tyme folowyþ the trad of the pastoure.

Quhat thank cummys God the for to iustify  
Thir pure commonþ, that thou has in to cure,  
And syne thi felfe to leyf maist tyrantly,  
Doand na refoune to na creature?  
Lord God, sic lordschip may nocht lang endure!  
Wald thou tak tent till thir auld floris,  
How mony princis ar peryfde one this wyis.

Gud iustice has ij partis principale;  
The tane is dome and rychtwyþ jugement,  
The tother is to mak the schathis hale,

Efter the dome the partyis to content,  
 And tharof mak thaim fikkylr incontinent  
 Efter the terme of law all uterly,  
 Or ellis the juge is dettoure veraly.

Quhat valis men thi rychtwyß jugement  
 With wryt and wax confermyt as afferis,  
 And fyne the partys never to be content,  
 Bot drychyt and delayit oure fra geire to geris?  
 Trowiß thou nocht God in heaft hevynne thaim heris,  
 Criand vengeanß, for falt of lyfis fud,  
 Of the and thin that revyß thaim thus thaire gud?

Sanct Davy fays in haly prophesy,  
 The man is best<sup>1</sup> that dois baith dome and law;  
 Quhilk, quhen he gyffis a sentence futhfastly,  
 Gerris execut for ony mannys aw,  
 Nocht anerly to feel a nakyt saw;  
 For to Godvart is bot deryfioune  
 A bare sentence but execucioune.

And be it a sentence of a foverane lord  
 Quhilk signifyis regioune superlatyve,  
 Quhen dome is gyffynne and na remed fet ford,  
 And terme of law allegit to prescryve,  
 Efter that terme thaire is na man on lyve

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.



Ma it gancall, but hurtyne of the croune,  
And degradyng of his iurifdiccioune.

Yyt is thaire a thyng that mekill grevyf thi croune,  
Quhilk feildyne is remedyt in the land;  
Quhene ony makkis rebellious,  
Nocht bowfumly obeyand to thi wand,  
Deforffand fereffis, maffaris, or fergiand,  
Thaire is na punysyng, bot lat owre pass;  
Quhair nan aw is, how fuld thare folow grace?

Bot of a thing all gud men mervalis mare,  
Quhene gret confale, with thin awyne consent,  
Has ordand strait justice na man to spare,  
Within schort tyme thou changis thin entent;  
Sendand a contre<sup>1</sup> letter incontinent,  
Chargeand that of that mater mare be nocht;  
Thane all the warld murmwriss that thou art bocht.

Thaire is a pure man heryd uterly,  
And tynt bayth coft, laboure, and principale;  
Thi faul, thi honour, blekyt petuysly,  
And crabbit all thi confale generale;  
War it in France men wald mak cession hale  
In parliament, and nocht bow to thi croune,  
Quhill thou had maid thaim a reformacioun.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS.

Thou fuld alß mak strayt inhibicioune  
 That nan tak bud for gyft of benefice;  
 Nor for to do that offence to the croune,  
 To tak reward for doying of justice;  
 Thai offend baith to God and to thare office,  
 And alß ar courft of law and of spiritualite,  
 Quhilk but the pape may nocht affoilgit be.

And quhene thou gyffis a playne remiffioun,  
 In cas requerand rigoure of justice,  
 But gudly cauß thou offendis to the croune,  
 And forfettis bayth to God and thin office.

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THE DETHE OF  
THE KYNGE OF SCOTIS.



HERE FOLOWYNG BEGYNNYTHE A FULLE LAMENTABLE CRONYCLE, OF THE  
DETHE AND FALSE MURDURE OF JAMES STEWARDE, LAST KYNGE OF  
SCOTYS, NOUGHT LONG AGONE PRISONER YN ENGLANDE, THE TYMES  
OF THE KYNGES HENRYE THE FIFTE AND HENRY THE SIXTE.

### THE DETHE OF THE KYNGE OF SCOTIS.

ROBERT STEWARD, the kyng of Scotis, hadde ij fonnys; of the whiche the eldere was a femely mane of perfoone, and knyght, clepid the duke of Rosfeye; and the yonger, clepid James Steward, that was bote of yeres yonge and meane of stature. This duke of Rosfeye perseyvyd in his reafon the greet age of the kyng his fadir, the ympotencye of his lymmes and membirs, the febileneffe of his perfone that fore vexed hym yn his age, begane unlawefully to tak upon hym the royalle guvernance. Thurghe the whiche prefumcion, orguyle, and pruyde, he wexe fulle of vicioufnes yn his lyvyng, as yn difpufellyng and defowlyng of yong madyns, and yn brekyng the ordire of weddelok, by his fowle ambitious luft of that volupteuus luft of advoutre. Wherefore the lordes and the nobles of the

rewme of Scotland, confideryng that vicious lyvyng of that said duke\*

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Thes trators, furters, and contractes, ended, by the counsell and consente of bothe the pairties of the kynges, the kyng of Scottes hadde leve enlargiffid, and had faufecondit of his maister the kyng of England, for so the kyng of Scottes clepid hym, to returne safe and sounde ayene ynto his region of Scotteland.

Of whos cumyng the erle Douglas and the erle of Bowgham, fully advertised to hemfelfe in thaire owne misgovernance, he beyng kyng and absent, ne durste nat abide his home-cumyng, for fere of the pitous dethe of the duke of Rosfey, his brother, whome thay haved so mischevously murdurid unlawfully yn prifone, as afore this cronycle made clere memorie, they ordeynd hem, for dowte of thare lyvys, withe a gret nowmber of thare frendis and subiectes, withe alle the possibilite, to passe the see ynto France. Frome whense thay come never; bott both thay, with many other worshipfulle capitaignes, knyghtes, and fwyers, and lordes of the Armynakes and Scottes, all enmyes to the kyng of England, were slayne and takyne at the bataile of Vernoile yn Perche, withyne the reume of France, by that noble and so excellent prynce John of Loncafter, duke of Bedeford, thene the regent of France, to whome that day God granted the difconfitoure and victorie of the feld.

Remanyng at thare home the duke of Albayne, the erle of Leynys, the erle of Manthet, Watir Stuard, and other many lordes of Scotteland, thynkyng that thay were so neghe of the kynges blode of Scottes, and

\* A leaf has been here torn out of the manuscript.

demyng also yn theire conseites that [thai] hade nat offended theire kyng yn no wife, bot so abode still yn the lande the kyngs cumyng home out of England ynto Scotteland. Whome all, with many other of thare afinite, the faide kyng of Scottis lete arrest and hem severally yn dyverfe castell full hard prifoned, till he had fondon meanes and waïs for to do hem lawfully to deth, as false traitours, becaufe of the false murdure of his brother the duke of Rosay. Whos dethe the people of the land fore grutched and mownud, seying that thay suppoised and ymagynd that the kyng did rather that vigorous execucion upon the lordes of his kyne for the covetife of thare possessions and goodes thane for any other rightfull cause, allethofe he fonde colourabill waïs to serve his entent yn the contrarye.

All thos thinges thus done, the faide kyng of Scottes, noght stanchid of his unfacionable and gredi adverbite,\* ordeynd that tallage and other imposicions upon his people, gretter and more chargeant then ever were acustumyd afore that tyme. So that the comoners of his land secretly clepid hym nat rightwes bot a tirannous prynce, what for the outrageous imposicions importables of use, on taxes and tallages, upon his poure subjectes and peple. But, after the wisdome of some philisophers, the comone langage of the peple oft spekith without reason. Neverthelese many of the lordes of that land, dredyng fore of the harme that might betide, drowghe hem to counsell how thay myght withstand and resist the kynges tyrannye, fithe he hade so litille pite of the dethe done to hym of his lordes, many of hem beyng so negh of his roiall blode, and also of the gredi covetife that he oppressed and enpoверifid his comonalte. Withall, the kyng beyng present yn his said cownesell, rose up with a maneli swollon hart a knyght, clepid sir Robert Grame, a grete gentil-

\* Sic MS.

mane and an erles fune, a mane of grete wit and eloquence, wundir fut-tilye wittyd and expert yn the lawe; faying thes wordes opynly to the lordes, "Sirs, yf ye woll firmly stond by that at I shal fay to the kyng yn youre audience, I trust to God that we shal fynde a good remodye and helpe." To the which faying the lords consentid and saide that they, trustyng holly yn his prudent and discrete manehode, wold conferme and consent, yn hie and low, to mayntene all that he wold tak on hand to fay for the general weele of hem and of all that land yn that mater by hym then mevid.

Upon this the kyng lete to somond a parliament of the iij astatys of his rewme, where this fame fir Robert Grame, fulle fette and asurid and purposid to performe that at he had behight and promysid unto the lordes, as is afore reherfid. He rose upe with a grete corage, with a violent chere and countenance, sette handes upon the kyng, sayng thos wordes, "I arrest you yn the name of all the Thre Astates of your reume, here now assemblid yn this present parliament; for right as youre liege peple be bundun and sworne to obeye your majeste rialle, yn the fame wise bene ye sworne and enfurid to kepe youre peple, to kepe and guerne youre lawe, so that ye do hem no wronge, bot yn all right mantene and defend hem." And there and then forthwith the said fir Robert Grame, afuryng hym fully yn the promyse made unto hym bi the said lordes, said, "Is hit nat thus as I fay?" Unto the which sayng none of all the Astates afore reherfid wold, ne durst, speke oone word, bot kapid silence. The kyng therwith percevyng all this presumptuous rebellion and wirchyng of the said fir Robert Grame, gretly movyd and stirryd ayenst hym, as that reafon wold, lete do hym arrest and commandid to put hym yn sure and hard prisone. This fir Robert Grame, feyng hymself thus defavyd there of the said lordes, spake and said yn this wise,



“He that serveth a common mane, he serveth by short processe of tyme.” After this the kynge exiled this fir Robert Grame, and all his heritages and goodes deemed as forfeitures to the kyng.

Upon his exile this fir Robert Grame toke his [way] ynto the cuntries of the Wild Scottis, wher that he conspired and ymagynd how that he myght destruye his kyng, and furthwith he renounfed his legerance, and by wordes and by writyng he defied hem, feyng that he had destruyd hym, his wif and his childerne, his hartages and all his other godes, by his cruell tyranny. Wherfor he said he wold flee hym [with] his owne handes as his mortall enmye, yf wer he myght se tyme and find wais and meanes. Therto the kyng, hugely vexid in his spretres with the traiturous and malicious rebellion of the said fir Robert Grame, did mak an opyn proclamacion by all the rewme of Scotteland, that whofo myght flee or tak hym and bryng hym to the kynges prefence, should have iij thousand demyes of gold, every pece worth half an Engliffh Noble.

Noght long after this the kyng lete so ordeyne his parliament yn due forme at Edenbourghe, somunde yn the yere of oure Lorde a thousand, foure hundreth, fix and thirye, yn the fest of All Hallowen. To the which parliament the said fir Robert Grame stired a full cruell vengeance ayene the kyng, sent privie messages and letturs to certayne men and servantes of the duke of Albayne, whome the kyng a litill afore hade done rigorously to deth, lich as hit is entitild here afore, opynly, that if thay consent and faver hym he wold uttirly take upon hym for to flee the kyng, lest thurgh his tyrannye and covetise he wold destruy this reume of Scotteland; and the corone of the land shall be yovon to fir Robert Stuard, which is the kynges cosyn and next of the right of the corone, bot yf the kyng had a sune, the same Robertes fadir thenne liggyng in hostage to the kyng of England for the said James kyng of Scottes, yn the Towre

of London, till that his fynauce were fully content and paid. And the said sir Robertes grantefire, the erle of Athetelles, [was] of that treifon and counsell, as hit was said ; and by hymselfe secretly desirid and covetid to have the corone. For which causes, the same sir Robert Grame was half the better consentid to bryng thaire purpofe to effecte. For this same sir Robert Stuard did ever abide yn the kynges prefence, full famulier aboute hyme at all houres and most prively above all other ; and was a full gentill squyer, fressh, lusty and right amyable, whome the kyng entierly loved as his owne sone, and for the tendure love that he had to hyme he made [hym] constable of all his host, at the sege of Edenbourgh.\*

After this the kyng fodayly avifid made a folempne fest of the Crif-tynmes at Porthe, which is clepid Sant Johns towne, which is from Edenbourgh on that other fide of the Scottefh See, the which is vulgarly clepid the Water of Lithe. Yn the myddis of the way thare arose a woman of Yreland, that clepid herselfe as a futhesayer. The which anone as shew saw the kyng, she cried with lowde voife, sayng thus, “ My lord kyng, and ye pase this water, ye shall never turne ayane on lyve.” The kyng heryng this was astroyed of hir wordis, for bot a litill to fore he had red yn a prophefie that yn the felfe same yere the kyng of Scottes shuld be flayne. And therwithall the kyng as he rode clepid to him oone of his knyghtis, and gave hym yn commaundment to torne ayane to speke with that woman and ask of here what sheo wold, and what thyng sheo ment with her lowd cryng. And sheo began and told hym as ye hafe hard of the kynge of Scottes, yf he passed that water as now. The kynge askid her how sheo knew that ? And sheo said that Huthart told her fo.

\* Sic, Roxburgh.

"Sire," quod he, "men may cal ant Y tak non hede of yond womans wordes, for sheo nys bot a drunkune fule, and wot not what sheo faith." And so with his folk passid the water, clepid the Scottishe See, toward Saynt Johnnes towne, bott iiij myles from the cuntreth of the Wild Scottes, where, yn a clofter of Blak Frers withowt the faid towne, the kyng held a gret fest. Where upon a day as the kyng plaid at the cheffes with oone of his knyghtis whome yn playng wise he clepid kyng of Love, for he was a lusti man, full amorous and much medeled hym with loves arte. And as hit came the kyng to mynd of the prophecie spokyne tofore, the kyng faid to this knyght, "Sir Kyng of Love," quod he, "hit is nat long agone sith I redd a prophecie, spokyne of tofore, that I saw how that this yere shuld a kyng be slayne yn this land; and ye wote wele, fir Alexander, there be no mo kynges yn this reume bot ye and I, and therfor I cownefell you that ye be well ware, for I let you wit that I shall ordeyne for my fure kepyng sufficiently, I trust to God, so I am undir your kyng-hood and yn the service of Love." And thus the kyng yn his folas plaid with the knyght.

Withyn short tyme after this, the kyng beyng yn his chambur, talkyng and playng with the lordes, knyghtis and squyers that were abowte hym, spak of many dyvers maters. Amonges was ther a squyer that was right acceptable to the kyng, that speke, and faid, "For sothe my lord," quod he, "me dremed varelye to nyght that fir Robert Grame shuld hafe slayne you." And that heryng the erle of Orkeney thoo warnyd the squyer that he shuld hald his peace and tell none such tales yn the kynges presence. And therwith the kyng, heryng this squyers dreame, remembred hymselfe how that same nyght how [he] had a sweyvyn slepyng, and femyd to hym veraly that a cruell serpent and an horribill tode assailid hym furiously yn his kynges chambur; and how he was fore afright and

aferd of hym, and that he had nothyng wherwith he myght focoure and defend hymfelfe bot oonly a paire of tanges that studyn yn the chymnethe. And many other tokyns and tailes, liche to this, the which now may well be demyd by varay demonstracions and also prenostications to the kyng of his deth and murdur, had he or the tyme of his deth fell. Also oone of kynges traitours, clepid Christofere Chawmebur, that was a squyer of the dukes hous of Albayne, iij tymes he drugh hym to the kynges prefence, for he wold haf playnely opynd and told hym of the purpos of all the traitours that wer aboute to murdure hym, bycause that the kyng withowt any cause hatid hym rightfully. And thus, as hit is said by the old wise fadirs many years or we were borne, what thyng that destyned to a perfon, be hit late be hit sone, at the last ever hit cumythe.

Thus, after this, cane fast apporoch the nyght, yn the which the said James Stward kyng of Scottes shuld falsely, hym unwittyng, suffure his horribill deth by murdure; this which is pite that any gentill or gode man to thynk upon. So both afore foper and long astire ynto quarter of the nyght, in the which the erle of Athetelles and Robert Stward were aboute the kyng, wher thay wer occupied att the playing of the cheffe, att the tables, yn redying of Romans, yn fyngyng and pypyng, yn harpyng, and in other honest solaces of grete pleafance and disport. Therwith came the said woman of Yrel nd, that clepid herself a dyvenouress, and entred the kynges courte till that she came streight to the kynges chambur dore, where sheo stood and abode by cause that hit was shutte and fast; sheo knokyd till at the last the usher opynd the dure, marvelyng of that womans beyng thair that tyme of the nyght and askyng here what sheo wold? "Let me yn, fire," quod sheo, "for I haf sumwhat to fay and to tell unto the kyng; for I am the same woman that noght long agone desirid to haf spokyn with hym at the Lithe whane he shuld passe

the Scottis See." The wifher went yn and told hym of this woman. " Yea," quod the kyng, " let hir cume to morrow ;" bycause that he was occupied with fuche disportes at that tyme hym lit not to entend her as thenne. The wifher came ayane to the chamber dore to the faid woman, and there he told her that the kyng was befyne in playng, and bid hir cum foo ayane upon the morow. " Well," said the woman, " hit shall repent yow all that ye wil nat let me speke nowe with the kyng." Ther-at the ussher lughe and held her bot a fole, chargyng her to go her way ; and therewithall sheo went thens.

Withyn an owre the kyng askid the voidee and drank, the travers yn the chambure edraw and every man depairtid and went to rift. Than Robert Stward, that was right famylier with the kyng and had all his commandementes yn the chamber, was the last that departid ; and he knewe well the false purveid treifon and was consentid therto, and therefore left the kynges chamburs doore opyne, and had bruffed and blundird the lokes of hem yn such wise that no man myght shute hem. And abowt mydnyght he laid certayne plaunches and hurdelles over the diches of the diche that environed the gardyne of the chambure, upon which the faid traitours entred. That is to say the forsaide fir Robert Grame, with other of his covyne ynto the nowmbur of thre hundreth perfons ; the kyng that same tyme ther stondyng yn his night gowne, all unclothid save his shirt, his cape, his combe, his coverchif, his furrid pynsons, upon the forme and the foote sheet ; so stondyng afore the chymney playng with the qwene, and other ladis and gentilwomen with here, cast offe his nyght gowne for to have gone to bedd. But he harkynd and hard grete noife without and grete clateryng of harnych, and men armyd, with grete sight of torches. Than he remembred hym and ymagynd anone that hit shuld be [the] false tratours knyght, his deedy enemy, fir Robert Grame ; and

fodenly the qwene, with all the other ladis and gantilwomen, rane to the chawmber dure and fonde hit opyne; and thay wold have shitt hit bot the lokes wer so blundrid that thay nethir cowth ne myght shut hit. The kyng prayd hem to kepe the fame dore as wele as thay myght and he wold do all his myght to kape hym to withstond the false malice of his traitours and enmys, he suppoifyng to have breftyn the farrementz of the chaumbur wyndos, bot thay wer so square and strongli fowdid yn the stonys with molyne lede that thay myght not be brofytne for hym, withowtyn more and strengre helpe. For which cause he was ugly astonyed and yn hys mynd kouth thynk on none other focoure bot start to the chymney and toke the tonges of yren that men rightid the fire with yn tyme of neede, and undir his fete he myghtily braft up a plaunch of the chaumbur flore and therwithall cverid hym ayane, and entred adowne lowe beneth amongis thordure of the privay that was all of hard stone and none wyndow ne ishue therupon, fave a litill square hole even at the side of the bothum of the pryvay, that at the makyng therof old tyme was levid opyne to clenfe and ferme the said privay, by the which the kyng myght well escapid, bot he maid to let stop hit well iij dayes afore hard with stone, bicause that whane he playd there at the pawme the ballis that he plaid withe oft ranne yn at that fowle hole, for ther was ordenyd withowt a faire playing place for the kyng.

And so ther [was] for the kyng nether reschows ne remedie, bot ther he must abide, ellas the while! The traitours withowt laid at the chaumbur dors and at the privay dore also, with wawis, with levours, and with axes, that at the last thay brak up all and entred, bycause the durs were not fast shutte, with swerdes, axes, glavis, billes, and other terribill and ferefull wepons. Amonges the gret prefe of the which traitours ther was a faire lady fore hurt yn the bak, and other gentilwemen

hurt and fore wondid. With the which the ladis and all the wemen mayd a sorowfull skrye, and ran away for the hidos fere of tho boiftous and merciles men of armes. The traitours furiously passed forth ynto the chaumbures and founde the quene so difmaid and abaffid of that horribill and ferfull guernance that she cowth nether speke ne withdrawe here; and as she stode ther so astroynd as a cryature that had lost here kyndly reason, oone of the traitours wowndid here full vilanyfly and wold have slayne hire, ne had not bene oone of sir Robert Grames sones, that thus spek to hym and said, "What woll ye dow, for shame of youre selfe! to the qwene? sheo is bot a womane; let us go and seche the kyng." And then, not wityng wele what sheo did or shuld do for that ferfull and terribill affray, fledd yn hir kirtill, her mantell hongyng aboute hir; the other ladyes yn a corner of the chaumbur cryyng and wepyng all deftraite, made a pitous and lamentable nose with full hevy lokyng and chere.

And ther the traitours fought the kyng yn all the chaumbur abowte, yn the withdrawyng chaumburs, yn the litters, undir the preffes, the fourmes, the chares, and all other places, bot long they besily fought the kyng, bot they couth nat fynd hym, for they nether knew ne remembred the privay. The kyng, heryng of long tyme no noyse ne stiryng of the traitours, wende and demyd that thay had all be gone, cryed to the wemen that they shuld come with shettes, and drawe hym up owt of that uncleyne place of the privay. The wemen at his callyng came fast to the pryvay dore that was nat shutt, and so tha opynd hit with labure; and as they were abowteward to helpe up the kyng, oone of the ladis, clepid Elizabeth Douglas, fell ynto the privay to the kyng. Therwith oone of the said traitours, called Robert\* Chaumbur, suppoisid varaly sith thay couth

\* Sic.

nat fynd yn none of all the sayd chaumburs the kyng, that he of neffessite had hyd hym yn the pryvay; and therefore he said to his felawes, "Sirs," quod he, "wherto stond we thus idill, and lese owre tyme, as for the cause that we be cumne fore hider? Cumith on furth with me and I shall redily tell you wher the kyng is." For the same Thomas\* Chaumbur had bene afore right familier with the kyng yn all places, and therfore knewe he wele all the pryvay corners of thoo chaumburs; and so he went forth strenght to the same pryvay where the kyng was, and perfavyd wele an sawe how a plaunch of the flure was brokyn up, and lift hit up and with a torch lokyd ynne, and saw the kyng ther and a woman with hyme. Saying to his felows, "Sirs, the spows is foundon wherfore we bene cumne, and all this nyght haf carold here." Therwithall, oone of the said tirantes and traitours, clepid fir John Hall, descendid downe to the kyng, with a grete knyf yn his hand; and the kyng, dowtyng hym fore of his lif, kaught hym myghtily by the shuldurs and with full grete violence cast hym under his fete, for the kyng was of his parfone and stature a mane right manly strong. And seyyng another of that Hallis brethyrne that the kyng had the betture of hym, went downe ynto the pryvay also for to destroy the kyng; and anone as he was ther descendid, the kyng kaught hym manly by the nek and cast hym above that other, and so he defowlid hem both undir hyme that all a long moneth after men myght see how strongly the kyng had holdyn hem by the throtes, and gretely the kyng strogild with hem for to have berevyd thame thare knyvs, by the which labour his handis wer all forkute. Bot and the kyng had bene yn any wise armyd he myght well have escapid thare malice by the lengthe of his fightyng with thoo ij false traitours; for yf the kyng myght any while lengar have favyd hymselfe, his servantes and much other peple of the

\* Sic.



towne by fume fortune shuld haf had fume knawelege therof, and soo haf cumne to his focoure [and] helpe. Bot, ellas the while, hit wol not be l fortune was to hym adverfe as yn preferwyng of his life any lengar.

Therwithall that odyus and falfe traitour, fir Robert Grame, feyng the kyng labord so fore with thoo two falfe traitours, which he had cast undir his fete, and that he wex faynt and wery, and that he was weponelese, the more pite was, descenden downe also ynto the pryvey to the kyng, with an horribill and mortall wepone yn his hand. And then the kyng cried hym mercy, "Thow cruell tirant," quod Grame to hym, "thou hadest nevyr mercy of lordes borne of thy blode, ne of non other gentilman that came yn thy daunger, therfor no mercy shalt thou have here." Thane said the kyng, "I besech the that, for the salvacion of my foule, ye woll let me have a confessore." Quod the said Grame, "Thow shalt never have other confessore bot this same swerd." And therwithall he smote hym thorough the body, and therwithall the goode kyng fell downe and lamentable with a pitous voyce he cried hym oft mercy, and behight to gyf hym half hys kyngdam and much other good to save his lif. And then the said Grame, feyng his kyng and foveran lord ynfortunated with so much defeyse, angwssh, and forowe, wold hafe so levyd and done hym no more harme. The other traitors above, perceyvyng that, sayd onto the sayd fir Robert, "We behote the faithfully, bot yf thou sle hym or thou depart, thou shalt dye for hym on owre handys sone dowtelese;" and then the said fir Robert with the other two that descendid first downe fell upon that noble prynce, and yn full horribill and cruell wise they murdrid hym. Ellas for forow, that so ynmesurably cruelte and vengeance shuld be done to that worthy prynce, for hit was reportid by true perfons that sawe hym dede, that he had fixtene dedely woundes yn his breste, withowtyn many and other yn dyverse places of his body.

And hit is reherfid and remembred yn the hiftoriall and trewe cronicles of Scottelan<sup>1</sup>, that yn the felf fame place, by old tyme paffed, there haf bene iij kynges of Scottes flayne.

And whene this abhominable and horrible homycidie and falfe treason of this cruell murdur was thus done, the faid traitours fought the qwene, and yn thare furous crueltye wold hafe flayne her yn the fame wife; bot God of his grace and goodnes prefervyd and kepe here owt of thare handis. And upon this the noife arofe and sprang owt, both ynto the cowrte and ynto the towne, of that horribill doyng and faite of that at the faid traitours hadde done. And anone forthwith all the kynges fervantes that were logid yn his faid court, and all the other peple of the fame towne, with oone will and oone affent, as the kynges trewe men and his liege fubjectes, comone with force and armes, with many a torch and other lightis, and approched the kynges court. And whene the traitours hard the noife and romore of thos comones, thay with all haft poffibill fled; bot yit yn thare withdrawyng or thaye were fully paffed the diches of the kynges place, a worthy knyght that was called fir Davy Dunbarre, he allone afcried and purfued hem, and with his owne hand floghe oone of hem, and another he fore woundid. And as he faught with them yn thaire fleying, thay kut of thre of his fyngurs of his oone hand and fore woundid hym upon his hed; and thay flogh an other yong mane of the kyngys chaumbur that was [a] good grome.

And yn this wyfe fir Robert Grame with all the other traitours efcapid and droghe hem to the cuntreth of the Wild Scottes; and thay faid amonges hemfelfe, "Ellas, why floghe we not the qwene alfo, for and we had fo done we fhuld have bene out of mucche difeafe and trobill, which we lene now lich to have. With here we have caufe gretely to drede here, left fhu woll purfue and laboure for to do vengeance upon hus."

And soth hit was the qwene did fuche diligence and purfuet ayanft the faid felonouce traitours, that withyne a monethe next aftir that fo abhominable murdure thay were alle takyn and byhedid at Edynburghe. The qwene did hirselfe grete worfhip for here trew acquitable; hit hathe not oft beene fene fo fodeynly vengauce takyn upon fo horribille and a cruelle dede. For furft was takyn fir Robert Stuarde and Cristofere Chaumbur, and lad ynto ftrong prefone withyne the castelle of Edynburghe; and after, by the fentance of the law thay were drawne and hangid and quarterd. Furft, ther was ordenyd a cart wherupone was fet a crofe of grete heght that was maid of tree; to the which croffe the faid Robert Stuarde was fast boundone, ftondyng upright all nakid, boundon to the bak of the fame, nothyng upon hem bot thare pryvay clothes. The hangman there ftondyng above withe hem, havng yn his handis a paire sharpe tangis, with the whiche he twitched and all to-tare thare fkyne and flefthe, that the blode yn fulle grete quantite ranne downe from hem, that pite was to fee. For thay fuffird paciently alle the cruelle paynes of turmentrye that thay put hem to, and faid unto the faid hangman, "Dowe whatever ye will dow withe oure wrechide bodies, for we bene gilty and haf welle defervyd hit this payneful dethe, and inwyfe and muche more." And thus wer thay ladde, pynchid and payned, by alle the ftrete and thorowe oute Edynburghe. At the laft thay lad on heghe afore the Counesell-hows, clepid the Gildhalle, there abydyng an oure and more, that all the peple myght behold and wondir on them. After that, thay were drawne with horffes, all the towne, till thay cam till a place wher was fet ane heghe ynstrument of tymbire, upon which balaftriars and bowyers ufyn to hong thare harnyffhide bowes to drie ayanft the funne. Where the fayde hongman toke a rope and knyt hit fast aboute thare birfies, undre thaire harmeholes, and drew hem to the hegheft place of that ynstru-

ment ; and thay there so hongynge confessed openly to all the world all the conspiracy of the kynges dethe from poynt to poynt. And from theise thay were caried ynto the middis of the marketh place there, where was ordyned an hie skaffalde upon which with an old rusty axe the said hongman smot of thare hedes, and there quartard hem. And yn this wyfe was exsecucion done upon hem bothe, and thare heddes set upe of the gates of Sent Johannes Towne.

Soone after this was takyn the erle of Athetelles by the erle of Angwis, and laid ynto the castelle of Edenburghe to prifone. This fame erle of Athetelles was endited, arreyned, and dampned ; bot by cause of that this was neghe the feste of Pascue the croffe was takyn adowne ; and he lad to the polour yn the towne, and ther was he fast boundon and a corone of papir put upon his hede, the which was all abowte depaynetid with jubettes, and for the more dispite and shame to hym was writyne with thes wordes, **TRAITOUR, TRAITOUR, TRAITOUR.** The bushope of Urbinate, legate of owre holy fader the pope, then beyng in Scotteland wpon his ambassite, hard thare confessions. And then evyn forthewithe the said erle of Athetelles was heded, bot he went alwas to have had grace and pardon unto the tyme that the hangman had hym upon the skaffald to be there and then hedid ; for he confessed and said that he was not yn no wyfe consentyng ne assentyng to the kynges dethe, but that he knew therof long and kepte hit couneselle, bycause that sir Robert Steward, that was oone of the grettest traitours, was his sonnes sone, and therefore he told hit not to the kyng. Bot yit nevyre the lesse when this sir Robert wist therof and told hit to the erle of Athetelles of the kynges deth, he blamyd hyme fore and defendid hym that in no wyfe shuld he be consentyng to none fuche murdure of his Soveran Lord ; weynyng veraly that nether he ne none of alle the other the whiche bene reherfid afore wold

never have done that murdure yn effecte. And so the faide erle told and confessid at his lyvys end, and his hed, coroned with a corone of yryne, stondyng upon a spere shaft yn the middis of Edenburghe.

After this fir Robert Grame with many other traitours of his coveene, beyng in captyvite, were ladde to the towne of Strivellen, and there were thay tourmentede and put to the dethe. The said fir Robert Grame stondyng there, at the wher he was tofore enditid of treison afore the justice and the lawe there, upon his arraynment said playnely that thay had no lawe to do hym to dethe, for he said he had nat offendit bot slayne the kyng his dedely enmye ; for by his letturs, sealed with his seale of armes long tyme afore he had defyed the kyng and renouncid his legeaunce, for causes reasonables, as he said. And yf thay wold do hym lawe after the statuytes of armes, thay shuld delyver hym and let hym go qwite, bicause the kyng wold have destruyd hym yf he had myght. And thus yn that he said he did no wrong nor fynne, but oonly that he sloughe Godes criature, his enemye. Alle thes reasons nether couthe ne myght suffice for his excuse, the whiche he perceyvyd wele yn alle wise of thare wirchynges. This fame fir Robert Grame withe manly hert and wele avifid, as a mane wele ynstruete yn lawe and letture, said thes wordes, standyng at the bare afor the juges, alle the peple there affembled for that cause the selfe tyme. “ O ye alle so synfulle, wrechede, and mercilese Scottishe folke, withoute prudens and fulle replet of unavifid folie, I know wele that I shalle nowe dye and ma note escape youre venomous judiciale handes ; for by wille and nat be right ne lawe ye have dampned my bodye to the dethe, the whiche God suffrethe me at this tyme to refave of you, for no defairt of this accusacion that ye condempne me ynne nowe, bot for other offences and trespas that I yn the vayne tymes of my youthe have displeasid hyme ynne. Yit dout Y nat that ye shalle se the daye and the tyme that

ye shalle pray for my faule, for the grete good that I have done to you and to alle this reame of Scotland, that I have thus slayne and delyveryd you of so cruelle a tirant, the gretteft enemye the Scottes or Scotland myght have, confideryng his unftaunchable covetife, yn his youthe, ayenft alle nature, his tirannye ynmeasurable, without pite or mercy to fibbe or to freme, to hie or to lawe, to poure or to riche." All thes thynges the said fir Robert Grame, with many other ynconvenyences, he reherfid there ayenft the kyng ; the whiche reherfale wole be ynne Scotteland many a yere here after ; for he was a mane of grete hart and manhode, and full difcrete, and a grete legifter of lawe positive and canone and civil bothe. Yit for alle that, at the laft he was dampned there by the judges of the dethe. This was the fentance of the jugement, there shuld be brought a cart, yn the mydward of the whiche there shuld be fette fast a tree uperight, longer than a mane ; and with that fame knyf that he floughe the kyng withalle was his hand alle upon heghe nolid fast to that tree, and fo was he had thoroughe out the towne. That edoone, the hangmane was commandid withe that fame knyfe to kut of that hand frome the arme. After that he was nolid nakynd, as he was firft borne of his modir, drawen thurghe the towne withowte coerture of any parte of his body, as nature brought hym forth from his modirs wombe, and yn the fame wife ladde thorghe alle the stretes of that towne ; and the tourmentours on every fide hym, withe hookid ynstrumentes of yryne, fuyre hote alle red glowyng, thay pynchid and twynched his theghes, his legges, his armes, his fides, his bake, his shuldurs, his neke, his wombe, and over alle his body, that was fulle feke and pitous to loke upon, wher thay iuppoifid most to anoye hyme and greve, that hit was to any mans kynd to forofulle and pitous fight, and to abhomynable to fe. With the ymportible panye of turment, he cried then pitoufly, withe dedely voice for the panys and paffiones that

he so suffird, sayng to them that thay did that durise to hym ayenst the lawe, " This that ye done to me is oonly by rigoure of ynmefurable tyrannye. Alle the warld of may clepe you Scottes tirantes, for manekynd may not withe the lif suffur ne yndure the paynefulle and tiranuous tourmentrye that ye put me unto. I doute me full fore that, and ye contynue thus youre tourmentes upon my wretched perfon, that for the payne ye wille confrayne me to renye my Creature. And yf I so doo, I appelle you afor God, the Hie and Chyf Juge of alle manekynde after there desertes at the unyversal dome, that ye bene the varay cause of the losse of my faule." Thurghe the whiche speche foure of the lordes so abidyng upon the execucion of this said fir Robert Grame, moevid of pite, let tak him doune, and, as he was all nakyd, lappid yn a rough Scottishe mantelle, and cast hym ayane with a grete violence ynto fore and fulle hard prifone.

In the meane tyme many of the other traitours were boweld alle qwik, and afterward were quarterd, as wele thay that receyvid the said fir Robert as thay that were with hym. Whane the exsecution of the said traiton was done, and many of tho that were with hym att the day of the kyng, confessid, whane thay were spokyne to go with the said fir Robert Grame, hit was not told unto hem of no purpos that was takyn for to destruye the kyng and put hym to dethe, bot hit was said unto hem that thay shuld go with hym to ravishe a faire lady oute of the kynges house, whame the said fir Robert Steward shuld have weddid the next day following.

And after this thay ladd aftounes the said fir Robert Grame to the place where he shuld dye. And sodeynely thay drughe away the mantelle, to the whiche alle his woundes were hardyned and clave fast with his blode dried therto; for with the said payne he fele downe yn a fwonyng,

and so lay along on the ground more thene a quarter of an oure. And then he revivid and qwykynd ayane, seyng that ryvyng away so fodeinly and rudely of that mantelle was to hym gretter payne than any other that [he] had suffird afore. And after this, for the more grefe and forow to hym, thay boweld his sonne alle quyke, and quarterd hym afor his eene and drewe owt his hart of his body, the whiche harte lepe thrife more than a fote of heghte after hit was drawen owte of his body; and yn semblable wife the hangmane droughe owte all his bowelles and quarterd hym, and many other moo after hym.

Bot the laft of alle Thomas Halle was hedid, for as hit was knawen and veraly wift by proef, he was the pryncipalle and the fynalle cause of the kynges dethe. The fayd Chaumbur had the strengyth hart of alle the other, for he never repentid hym of the kynges deth. The hede of hym and the right hand stande faste nalic at Edenburghe, undir the erles hede of Athetelles.

And thus endyn thes forofull and pitous cronycles; and alle mene faye that the unfacionable covtise was the ground and cause of the kynges dethe. Therefore prynces shuld take hede and drawe it to thare memorie of maistre Johan de Moigne counfelle, thus said yn Frenche langage,

*Il nest pas fires de sone pays,  
Quy de son peple [n]est amez,*

the which is thusmuche to meene, yn oure Engleshe tonge,

A grete prynce may have no more vice,  
Ne hym to greve thanne avarice.  
He nys no lord yn his cuntre,  
That of his mene hath no lufe; leve ye me,



For wele may he be called a lord,  
 Wham that his peple love of record.  
 Merk this wele I you befeche ;  
 Adieux ; to God I you betече.

AND THUS NOWE HEBE ENDETHER THIS MOSTE PITEVOUS CRONICLE, OF  
 THORRIBILL DETHE OF THE KYNG OF SCOTTE3, TRANSLATED OUTE OF  
 LATYNE INTO OWRE MODERS ENGLISSHE TONG, BI YOURE SYMPLE  
 SUBGET JOHNE SHIRLEY, IN HIS LASTE AGE, AFTER HIS SYMPLE UNDER-  
 STONDYNG; WHICHE HE RECOMMENDETHE TO YOUR SUPPORTACIONE  
 AND CORRECCION, AS THAT YOURE GENTILNESE VOWCHETHE SAFE  
 FOR HIS EXCUSE, &c.



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PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION, IN A SUPERFINE ROYAL OCTAVO VOLUME,

# **ADDRESSES**

DELIVERED BY

**LORDS RECTORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW,**

WITH

**INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.**

BY

**JOHN B. HAY.**

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THIS Volume will contain the INAUGURAL ADDRESS of Lord Jeffrey, of the late Sir James Mackintosh, of Lord Brougham, of Thomas Campbell, Esq., of the Marquis of Lansdowne, of Lord Cockburn, of Lord Stanley, and of Sir Robert Peel; and the FAREWELL ADDRESS of Lord Jeffrey, of the late Sir James Mackintosh, of Thomas Campbell, Esq., and of Lord Cockburn. In the Introduction will be given a History of the University—an Outline of the Course of Instruction pursued in each of the Classes—and a History of the Rectorial Elections.

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**NOTES.**





## NOTES.

—"et matrimonio cum nepte regis Angliæ, filia comitis de Somerseth, nunc ducis ejusdem, contracto," p. 1.

John Beaufort, first Marquis of Somerset, was the eldest natural son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Katherine Swinford. His youngest son, Edmund, was created Duke of Somerset, 21st March 1447. The history must, therefore, have been written after this date.

—"de manibus inimicorum liberaverunt et in regno reduxerunt," p. 1.

The Harleian MS. 4764 (a very fine copy of the *Scotichronicon*, written upon vellum, and not hitherto employed in the formation of the text of any of the editions), states, fol. 184, b. that James entered Scotland—"pridie ante Dominicam in Passione." There is reason to believe that he was at Durham on March 28, 1424.—*Rot. Scot.* ii, 247.

"Non enim volebant Anglici, . . . dicere summam 100,000 marcarum, quam pro ejus liberatione petierunt, esse pro ejus redemptione datam, immo potius pro ejus expensis factis in eorum custodia," p. 2.

The *Rotuli Scotiæ* show that the information conveyed in the text is not strictly correct. The ransom was 40,000*l.* not 100,000*l.*, and of this sum 10,000 marks were remitted as the marriage-portion of Johanna, daughter of John, late Earl of Somerset. It may be observed, however, that this money was to be paid "pro sumptibus et expensis præfati Jacobi regis de tempore quo stetit in regno Angliæ."—*Rot. Scot.* ii, 246. *Fad.* x, 322.

—"fratris, regis Ricardi secundi, in Scotiam expulsi," p. 2.

Before venturing to quote this passage as another proof of the accuracy of the popular story that Richard the Second found a refuge in Scotland after his deposition, it is necessary to pay minute attention to the authority to which this Chronicle is entitled, and how far it is a copy, or an early copy, of the *Scotichronicon*.

—"pro qua summa dati erant dicti obsides . . ." p. 2.

The *Rotuli Scotiæ* furnish us with a list of the names of those who became securities for the payment of the ransom of James I. See ii, 242, &c. At p. 254 is a list of those who were permitted to return into Scotland, and of those who were required in exchange.

—"quorum schismatum, in fine libri, si placet, memoriam faciemus, . . ." p. 3.

No such entry was made in the Manuscript, but it is to be found in the *Scotichronicon*, l. xvi, c. iii.

—"apud Perth, sexto die post ejus coronationem, tenuit parliamentum suum," p. 3.

The proceedings of this Parliament, holden at Perth, 26th May 1424, are printed in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ii, p. 3.

"Eodem anno, xiii die Martii, tenuit rex secundum ejus parliamentum apud Perth"—p. 3.

The acts made "in the parliament of our soverane lorde James, be the grace of God king of Scottes, haldin in the town of Perth, the xij day of Marche, the yer of God 1424 yeris," may be found in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ii, 7.

"Anno 1425 . . . missi sunt a rege Francorum in ambassada regi Scotiæ archiepiscopus Remensis, dux et par principalis ecclesiasticorum parium Franciæ," p. 6.

Reginald de Chartres was archbishop of Rheims from 1414 to 1444. On the 29th March 1425, he was appointed Chancellor of France, an office which he shortly afterwards resigned to Martin Gouge, Bishop of Claremont. In 1436, he was employed by Charles VII. King of France, to solicit from the Archbishop of Tours licence for the marriage of the Dauphin Louis with Margaret, daughter of James I. The authors of the *Gallia Christiana*, ix, 136, 137, edit. 1751, quote a charter dated in March 1441, to which the seal of this prelate is attached, on which he styles himself "*primus Franciæ par.*" They seem to have been ignorant of his mission into Scotland, as detailed in the text. See also the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, ii, 26, 27.

"Anno 1428 rex apud Inverness tenuit suum parliamentum," p. 8.

No trace of the proceedings of this Parliament is to be found in the Acts, but it appears from that work, that upon July 12 of this year, a Parliament was held at Perth, ii, 17.

"Anno Domini 1433 combustus est . . . Paulus Craw . . ." p. 11.

In the *Scotichronicon* he is called "Paulus Cwarar, Teutonicus," and, from what is there stated, appears to have been a follower of Huss or Jerome of Prague.

—"venit de Anglia miles quidam," p. 12.

The *Scotichronicon* says that he was "Dominus de Scrope nomine."

"Anno Domini 1435, obiit Alexander Steuwart, comes de Mar, qui in bellis de Legis et Arlaw strenue se habuit," p. 14.

The foreign exploits of this nobleman may be seen in *Wyntown*, ii, 424.

—"legatus domini Eugenii papæ in Scotiam intravit," p. 15.

The safe conduct granted by Henry VI. is dated 22d November 1436, and is printed in the *Rot. Scot.* ii, 296.

"Cujus inopiam ea mors apud Chalons . . ." p. 17.

Such is the reading of the Manuscript, which appears to be an error for—cujus inopinata mors . . .

—"ad ducem nobilissimum Johannem ducti," p. 30.

John, Duke of Bretagne, was the son of Johanna, who married Henry IV. King of England. The next Duke, Francis the First, became the husband of Isabella, daughter of James the First, King of Scotland.



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